



THE FUTURE OF THE
KANAKA

THE FUTURE OF THE KANAKA

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NEW HEBRIDES"

WITH
THE PUBLISHERS'
COMPLIMENTS.

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INTRODUCTION

I FEEL that I should preface this book with an explanation. It was written in the summer of 1917 far from many sources of reference, and in haste. I believed (rightly or wrongly) that I possessed certain information about the Pacific in general, and the New Hebrides in particular, which though fragmentary it was desirable to leave in a readily accessible form in case misfortune should overtake me in the war. It was clearly undesirable to publish it at the time and, moreover, I hoped to be able to expand and complete it. But since my arrival in England I have been very fully occupied in other ways, and now that the war is over its publication has suddenly become a matter of urgency. So I give it as it is.

I have already given a detailed account of the New Hebrides in a book entitled "France and England in the New Hebrides"—here I discuss more general questions and principles. I think, however, that I ought to state two things very plainly. The first is that if the present state of affairs in that unhappy Group is to be fully dragged out into the light of day, there is only one way of doing it, and that is by means of a

Commission with powers to inspect all official Records both British and French. And its chief point of inquiry should be this. What is the death-rate amongst Kanaka labourers on European plantations? Every native indentured since the inception of the Anglo-French Condominium on December 2, 1906, should be traced systematically.

The second is that it is the universal desire of the natives of the New Hebrides to pass under the British Flag. There can be little doubt that the disastrous experiment of the Condominium will, in the present general settlement of the world, be brought to an end. If that be so it will pass either to Britain or France. Should it pass to France it will be in defiance of the principle of self-determination of little races for which the Great War has been fought and won, and the settlement will not be a final one. Sooner or later the Group must pass to Australia. If it be later it will pass empty of a native population. Therefore let it be sooner.

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THE FUTURE OF THE KANAKA

CHAPTER I

THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC

I. THE SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

WE learn from history that the centre of gravity of human activities is constantly shifting. If we investigate the phenomenon we see at once that it by no means depends on bulk of population. It depends mainly on the racial temperament of nations. Although history, as we generally conceive it, is occupied chiefly with southern and middle Europe, that is to say with but a small and generally turbulent minority, yet we must not omit to remember that the History of Mankind includes also within its compass the proceedings of the vaster though quieter races of the Orient and Africa. Being so greatly ignorant of the histories of the Orient and Africa, and circumscribed as we are by records which extend over little more than two thousand years, it is impossible to state with certainty what those shiftings have been, whence their origin, or what

future ones may be in store for us. We may trace, if we will, a certain tendency of movement from east to west, and please ourselves with fancies of Man's ambition set towards the land of the rising sun. We may give as cause the overcrowding and exhaustion of ancient lands whereby the bolder spirits were stirred to tempt fortune in countries as yet unoccupied. But a realization of our imperfect knowledge must save us from hasty and dogmatic generalizations, and we must remember that some nations, like China, are apparently content to remain stationary, while others like the Indonesians, Melanesians, and Polynesians have progressed not from east to west, but from west to east. We can only say that as far as we know the centre of human affairs has never been situated in either of the two countries where we find the largest population, in India or China. But we must not generalize from this and say that it will never be so. The western world of Europe is at present in the melting-pot, and beyond noting the indisputable fact that we are engaged in destroying the population and resources of Europe, which may cause Europe to cease to be the present centre of gravity of human activities, we can say nothing certain. It may be that there will be a transfer of the world's centre of civilization to America, or it may travel still further west and settle in China and Japan.

But whatever may happen in this regard one

thing is sure, and that is that the Pacific Islands are destined to become more and more important as the years pass. True, it is impossible to imagine that the world's centre of political gravity can ever be centred in them. But they can become pawns in the game of conflicting national interests, and they can be coveted and fought over and possessed as much from strategical motives as from commercial and planting ones. Not only do they provide employment for a certain number of the white and yellow races, not only do they produce products of which the great continents and nations stand in need, but they are stepping-stones, a bridge, across the greatest stretch of water in the world. Friendly as well as martial communication can take place through them. They lie between China and Japan on the north, Australia on the west, and America on the east. These nations cannot ignore their interests in these islands, and as each of them becomes greater their interests therein will grow greater too. Each of these nations must ultimately regard them as a possible profit or responsibility, bulwark or menace, according as they possess them themselves or they are possessed by their neighbours. And by virtue of other nations' interests in these nations, the question at once becomes a world one.

And indeed the Pacific Islands have already played the part of pawns in the international game of chess. Not very important pawns so

far, but still of some value. It is worth while, therefore, to try and see as far as we can what relation they bear to the rest of the world, not only to those great nations which have an actual and visible stake, but to the whole world which has or may have a potential one in them. We should endeavour to envisage the question from the widest point of view both of theory and practice. We should consider : (1) What moral right civilized nations have to impose their dominance on weaker and less advanced races, and if—as I shall endeavour to show it can—that right can be established, to what limitations it is subject, that is to say what responsibilities the stronger race owes to the weaker in return for the political dominance imposed. (2) What is broadly the present state of affairs in the Pacific. (3) How far the present state surpasses or falls short of what it should, and if we find it falls short of a proper standard in any respect, then what remedies are required to bring it up to that standard. And finally : (4) How the possibly opposing interests of the various dominant nations interested can best be reconciled both for their own good and for that of the pawns. This is, indeed, a wide and bold inquiry, one which necessitates wide knowledge and sober judgment. What patient and long investigation would be needed to accumulate *all* the facts on which hypotheses might be founded and from which deductions might be drawn, and without which a

narrative must necessarily be but an impression, and judgment tentative! To do full justice to it it would be necessary to take island by island, group by group, country by country, to trace their history and study in detail their present condition. Such a method, which is in reality the only true method of arriving at sound and indisputable conclusions, is beyond the powers of a single observer. And though the value of the result must inevitably be less, still the present writer must perforce adopt a more modest and incomplete aim. It is intended, therefore, to confine the bulk of this inquiry to those groups of islands in the Pacific which fall under the headings of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Mention, of course, must occasionally be made of the adjoining continents of Australia, Asia and America, and of Indonesia (as well as of certain islands in the Pacific which do not properly fall under any of the above headings), but no detailed discussion of the coloured races of those lands will be attempted. We are concerned here with the future of the Kanaka race, and with that of the dominant races in so far as it concerns them. But even to this limitation we must add another. No attempt will be made to describe all the different islands and groups of the Pacific in detail. Many volumes would be required even for such a limited inquiry as that. And though such an inquiry or history needs to be written, and would be interesting and valuable to the

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student, it would merely cause the practical man who has no time to go into details to be submerged in a sea of detail. It is my object to try and seize the salient points which affect Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia, and to use details only by way of illustration. The result will be a mere impression, but if such an impression has the good fortune to promote discussion and stimulate interest by men of wider knowledge and experience, my object will be amply achieved.

II. THE ISLANDS AND GROUPS THE SUBJECT OF THIS INQUIRY

The principal groups and islands with which we are concerned may best be shown by Tables A, B, C, D (pp. 15-18). But it must be realized at the outset that the figures of native population available are very unsatisfactory. Indeed they are often mere estimates.

From these Tables we can constitute another (p. 19) showing in round figures the total areas and populations governed by European races.

I add another Table showing approximate exports and imports (p. 20).

In perusing these Tables we must bear in mind:

(1) That reliable and up-to-date statistics for the Pacific are not available. In the early days of Pacific colonization the wildest guesses were made at the probable populations of the various

A. British Possessions

Name of Group.	Ethnological Division.	Estimated Number of Natives.	Estimated Number of Whites.	Area in Square Miles.	Under the Jurisdiction of—
Fiji	Melanesia	87,000	3,700 53,000 ¹	7,000	Great Britain (Crown Colony).
Torres	} <i>Id.</i>	65,000 (in 1911)	641 ²	5,100	Anglo-French Condominium.
Banks			262 ³		
New Hebrides . .			(in 1917)		
Solomons (including Santa Cruz) . .	<i>Id.</i>	150,000	660	14,800	Great Britain (Western Pacific High Commission).
Gilbert	Micronesia	32,000	450	180	Great Britain.
Ellice	<i>Id.</i>	3,000	6	14	" "
Friendly (Tonga) .	Polynesia	23,000	380	390	Protectorate.
Cook or Hervey .	<i>Id.</i>	12,000	280	280	New Zealand.
Papua	Melanesia	250,000	1186	90,540	Commonwealth of Australia.

¹ Indians.

² French.

³ British.

A. *British Possessions*

Name of Group.	Ethnological Division.	Estimated Number of Natives.	Estimated Number of Whites.	Area in Square Miles.	Under the Jurisdiction of—
Norfolk Island .	—	None	700 ¹ 200 ²	10	Commonwealth of Australia
Lord Howe . .	—	None	100	5	<i>Id.</i>
Pitcairn . . .	—	None	140 ² (in 1914)	2	Western Pacific High Commission.
Phoenix . . .	—	None	60	16	<i>Id.</i>
¹ Norfolkers.		² Floating.		³ Pitcairners.	

B. *Possessions of the United States of America*

Guam (Ladrone) .	Micronesia	13,000	850	210	U.S.A.
Sandwich or Hawaii	Polynesia	23,000	30,000 ¹ 124,000 ² 24,000 ³ 19,000 ⁴ 30,000 ⁵	6,500	U.S.A.
Navigator or Samoa .	<i>Id.</i>	7,000	—	95	U.S.A.

¹ Americans, British, Germans, and Russians.² Orientals.³ Portuguese.⁴ Filipinos.⁵ Others.

C. French Possessions

Name of Group.	Ethnological Division.	Estimated Number of Natives.	Estimated Number of Whites.	Area in Square Miles.	Under the Jurisdiction of—
Torres . . .	Melanesia	65,000 (in 1911)	641 ¹	5,100	Anglo-French Condominium.
Banks . . .			262 ²		
New Hebrides . .		28,000	(in 1917)	7,650	France.
New Caledonia. .			16,500 ³ 2,500 ⁴		
Society (Tahiti) .	Polynesia	10,300	5,000	402	France. These Groups and islands are all administered as one colony.
Marquesas . . .	<i>Id.</i>	4,000		490	
Paumotu (Low Archipelago) . .	<i>Id.</i>	6,000		330	
Tubuai . . .	<i>Id.</i>	2,000		110	
Wallis . . .	<i>Id.</i>	4,500		40	

¹ French.

² British.

³ Including convicts.

⁴ Javanese.

D. *Ex-German Possessions*

Name of Group.	Ethnological Division.	Estimated Number of Natives.	Estimated Number of Whites.	Area in Square Miles.	Under the Jurisdiction of—
New Guinea . . .	Melanesia	500,000	283	70,000	Commonwealth of Australia.
Bismark (including New Britain, New Ireland and Duke of York) . . .	<i>Id.</i>	188,000	685	20,000	<i>Id.</i>
Solomons (including Bougainville and Bouka) . . .	<i>Id.</i>	52,000	—	4,200	<i>Id.</i>
Marshall (including Nauru or Pleasant Island) . . .	Micronesia	15,000	171	150	Japan.
Caroline . . .	<i>Id.</i>	—	—	380	<i>Id.</i>
Pelew . . .	<i>Id.</i>	55,000	264	175	<i>Id.</i>
Ladrone or Marianne	<i>Id.</i>	—	—	250	<i>Id.</i>
Navigator or Samoa (including Savaii and Upolu)	Polynesia	35,000	544 ; and 1,300 (Chinese)	1,000	New Zealand.

	Natives.	Whites.	Area in Square Miles.	Remarks.
Great Britain and Colo- nies	590,000	7,000	118,000	Half the area and popu- lation of the Banks, Torres, and New Heb- rides Groups have been counted to Great Britain and half to France, of which a little less than one thousand square miles is now in the occupation of Japan, the balance in our own.
United States of Ame- rica	43,000	31,000	7,000	
France	87,000	27,000	14,000	
Ex-German	845,000	2,000	96,000	
Totals	1,565,000	67,000	235,000	

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TABLE SHOWING APPROXIMATE EXPORTS
AND IMPORTS*A. British Possessions*

Name of Group.	Annual Exports.	Annual Imports.
Fiji	£1,426,000 ..	£904,000
Torres, Banks, New Heb- rides	140,000 ..	150,000
Solomons	148,000 ..	162,000
Gilbert and Ellice (inclu- ding Ocean Island) . .	45,000 (copra) 285,000 (phosphates)	103,500
Friendly (Tonga) . . .	82,000 ..	181,000
Cook (Hervey)	122,000 ..	123,000
Papua.	128,000 ..	218,000

B. Possessions of the United States of America

Guam (Ladrone)	17,000 ..	57,000
Sandwich (Hawaii) . . .	13,000,000 ..	9,000,000
Navigator (Samoa) . . .	27,000 ..	27,000

C. French Possessions

Torres, Banks, and New Hebrides	140,000 ..	150,000
New Caledonia	633,000 ..	708,000
Society (Tahiti) Mar- quesas, Paumotu, Tu- buai and Wallis . . .	462,000 ..	361,000

D. Ex-German Possessions

New Guinea, Bismark, Solomons, Marshall (including Nauru or Pleasant Island), Caroline, Pelew, and Ladrone or Marianne	595,000 ..	450,000
Samoa	252,000 ..	251,000

Groups, while of trading returns there were none. Even now the populations of Papua and ex-German New Guinea are a pure matter of surmise.

(2) That the bulk of the exports consists of copra—the chief exceptions to this being (*a*) the sugar of Hawaii and Fiji, (*b*) the phosphates of Ocean Island and Nauru (or Pleasant Island), and (*c*) the ores of New Caledonia.

(3) That there are a number of islands in the Pacific which stand apart from the ordinary Groups and have no aboriginal native population of their own. The principal of these are Lord Howe, Norfolk, Fanning, Easter and Pitcairn Islands. They are all now inhabited by whites, and although their own special problems are somewhat different from those of the generality of Pacific islands, still they are an integral part of the Pacific, and their existence and positions must not be omitted in our general survey.

And from them, too, we may deduce the following proposition: (1) that all the islands of the Pacific are either annexed or protected by some one or other of the Great Powers; (2) that the amount of European and other external colonization that has as yet taken place is in sum small when compared with the total area of the islands; but that (3) owing to the territorial limitation of the total area of the islands themselves, though no doubt it can be far greater than it is, it can never be very great.

III. THE MORAL RIGHT OF CIVILIZED NATIONS TO IMPOSE THEIR DOMINANCE ON LESS ADVANCED RACES

This abstract question of moral right lies at the root of our inquiry. The facts of life depend, or should depend, on moral standards or ideals. And the ideal persists even though past efforts have fallen short of it or have even been unconscious of its existence. It is, therefore, an intensely practical matter that we have to consider.

Many of us realize imperfectly the manner in which the inhabitants of modern Europe have spread over the whole globe. We know vaguely the history of the Spaniards in Peru and Mexico, the Dutch in the East Indies, the French in India, Indo-China and Africa, the Germans in Africa and the East, the Belgians in Africa, and ourselves in Canada, Australia, Africa, India and elsewhere. We know that we, and they, have often had to fight not only rival European competitors, but the aboriginal inhabitants of these diverse countries to establish political supremacy. But it is seldom that we turn from the exhilarating story of conquest to inquire on what moral ground that conquest was based. And yet surely that is by no means a negligible question. It is not sufficient that we should have the great desire of empire merely because we feel ourselves to be a dominant race; nor is there any secure

moral justification to be found in the argument that it is better to be in first, as we should probably make better use of a new country than others would. We cannot wholly, though we may in part, plead the stress of our population, for our policy of expansion started centuries back, before the advent of steam-power which, by revolutionizing conditions of life, made possible the gigantic increase of population that the last hundred years has seen. Nor again can moral justification be found in a desire to impose willy-nilly our own religious faith on a people holding some other creed.

As a matter of fact reasons such as these, the spirit of enterprise and the hunger for riches, have been our main motives, or at least our first motives, in the course of action which has led to the acquisition of the British Empire. And other Great Powers have been led by the same reasons. If we look at these reasons dispassionately we must in honesty admit that they are the reasons of the opportunist, not those of morality. We see this very clearly when we consider the cases where European nations have imposed their dominance not on savages, but on other civilizations which were real civilizations though different from our own. The Peruvians had a real civilization which sufficed to fulfil the real object of all civilization, that is to secure the happiness and prosperity of the people, and in so doing to facilitate its expansion and develop-

ment. The Chinese again have a civilization of their own which has proved sufficient for them since before a period when all Europe was savage. There can be no moral right in forcing one's way into such civilizations either at the point of the sword, or even peaceably, unless with the consent of the people of those civilizations themselves. Speaking from a purely abstract point of view, if a nation deliberately decides that it wishes for no intercourse with strangers, it is entitled morally to live apart, even as Lycurgus endeavoured to separate the Spartans from the rest of the world. But then such a nation cannot justly complain if other nations act to it in the same way. The same moral rule holds in the case of uncivilized peoples. All we are morally entitled to do is to offer them the benefits of our civilization, but they are entitled to refuse them, and we have then no moral right to use force to make them abandon their decision.

This moral right of any people, civilized or uncivilized, to exclude strangers is one which we ourselves recognize in a score of different ways. It was only in 1870 that foreigners were allowed to hold land in fee simple in England. Foreigners have always been subjected to various disabilities : of office, vote, trade, and so forth. Nations, too, raise protective tariffs against foreign goods. Of recent years the general tendency in England and in many European countries has been to relax these rigours, and to promote by various

devices freer intercourse between civilized nations, partly in the desire to cheapen the cost of living, partly in the hope that with wider knowledge and appreciation of other nations' qualities, all the nations would recognize their human brotherhood, and join together in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of the general welfare of humanity. Since the war, however, not unnaturally, the fact that nations do differ from one another, often fundamentally, often irreconcilably, is beginning to be better realized, and the advantages and duties of the citizens of different nations are again being tightened up so as to foster a national rather than an international spirit.

This moral right of a nation to live apart and to exclude strangers is not a vice, or anything to be ashamed of or regretted. Rather it is a virtue. For the cosmopolitan mind in loosening the natural attachment of a human being for his ancestors' country, tends to lose respect for human institutions, to seek only for its own ends without recognizing or performing the duties it owes to its natural community, to lose that fine sense of regarding such duties as rights which are not merely a burden, but a privilege to perform, in a word to become selfish. Indeed, in the ideal community every member should have his appointed niche. And it is only by an intense appreciation of nationality, with all that that term implies, that we can hope to understand the

true spirit of internationalism. For that view of internationalism which conceives all men as brothers without essential difference, and capable of working and living together while ignoring the calls of nationality and race, is based on a misapprehension of human nature as a whole. Mankind cannot be run on family lines. Undue intimacy and familiarity can only lead to friction. Other nations should not be regarded as brothers, but as neighbours.

Yet though we have recognized this principle by our own actions (and though it would be well if we recognized it even more than we do), we have not applied it impartially or honestly in our dealings with others. While placing restrictions on other, even on neighbouring white races, we have imposed ourselves whenever we have had the opportunity on weaker folk. And in doing so we have succeeded in outstripping the rest of our white competitors until at last we hold or dominate more countries and peoples than any other nation upon earth. If, then, we have erred morally in thus imposing ourselves, we have erred yet more grievously in the moral sphere in denying to members of those weaker races in our own lands the concessions we have extorted for ourselves in theirs. If it be no true answer to our first deviation to urge the impulses of the spirit of enterprise and hunger for riches, it is still less a valid plea to defend the second by saying that we of a higher civilization are born

to rule, while they, mere savages, are born to serve. In speaking thus we are only glossing the phrase that "Might is Right"; nor if we say that we are merely endeavouring to give them the blessings of civilization and Christianity, are we being really fully honest with ourselves or with them. That may, it is true, be one of our motives, but it is far from being the only one. We may indeed have done much good, individuals may have led self-sacrificing and devoted lives for the sake of weaker peoples. But that has not been our main objective as a nation, and such excuses, though they may palliate, do not excuse our offence.

But the fact remains, and it is that we have now to face, that we and other civilized nations *have* overrun the earth, doing good and evil on our way, and that at the present moment there is no portion of the globe that is not either directly governed by, or at least "under the influence" of some Great Power. And the Pacific, as we have seen, forms no exception to the rule. We are now, therefore, face to face with an accomplished fact, and from whatever moral errors that fact has arisen—and it is important to realize that it has arisen from moral errors—we are now more particularly concerned with the present and the future. We cannot undo the past even if we would, but the present and the future are in our hands, and in dealing with them we must take the past into account. It

is possible to refrain from action in the first instance, but once action is taken consequences result, and a new state of affairs results which creates vested interests and duties. It is impossible then to return to the *status quo ante*. All we can do is to go on, and try and go on in the best way for all concerned. To descend from the general to the particular. No white man was forced to enter any Pacific Island. He did so of his own accord, often in opposition to the will of the natives. He forced himself upon them, and they were gradually awed into submission. His actions since then have been, as Man's actions always are, a mixture of good and evil, but the result of all his actions has been to change the nature of the native race. They were content as they were, but they would not be content if we were now to withdraw and restore them to their primitive isolation. We have implanted in them some of our own aspirations and thoughts. We have destroyed their old native life, and we must now continue by giving them something to take its place.

But we must further consider the case of a country where the lands are wide and the aborigines few in numbers. Is a continent like Australia, capable of supporting perhaps a hundred million people, to be left in the hands of a few hundred thousand savages who do not know how to use it, when there are other countries in the world which are hopelessly overcrowded?

Even if it be conceded that the conduct of the Spaniards in destroying the ancient civilization of Peru was inexcusable, cannot we differentiate between that and the cases of Australia and Canada? We must not forget that if we agree that this type of case may be treated as an exception we must play fair. If the comparatively few aboriginal natives had no moral right to be "dogs in the manger," nor have we. We cannot tell what the total number of aborigines was in Australia when the first white settlements took place. But it may fairly be guessed that it did not exceed the present number of whites. There are at present less than five million whites in Australia, and the aboriginal population now numbers but 160,000. If we can fairly argue that a handful of blacks had no right to the exclusive possession of a continent which they could not use, the moral position of a similar handful of whites is the same. We must be careful not to set up two standards of morality, one for whites and one for blacks, one to be applied when we think it is to our advantage and one when we think it is to our disadvantage. It is by such mental and moral tricks and quibbles that the whole world has gone awry. The conclusions which we draw must be based on the assumption that the law of morality in public and private matters is indivisible.

I think it is fair to say that no man, or body of men, of any race whatsoever has a moral right

to hold vast tracts of fertile land without using them when other nations are in need of room for expansion. And I, therefore, draw the conclusion that the moral right of civilized nations to impose their dominance on less advanced ones can only justly lie on these two considerations: (1) their right to take the unnecessary lands of others provided they themselves are in a state of necessity, and (2) the fact that we are at the present day in face of accomplished facts, and that having gone as far as we have (often, it is true, inspired by wrong motives), we cannot now justly withdraw.

So our inquiries must be directed with a triple aim. First we have to see what advantages and attractions on the one hand, and duties and responsibilities on the other, the Pacific offers to members of civilized races; secondly, how we are to benefit the aboriginal inhabitants of the islands on whom we have imposed ourselves, and from whom in fairness to them themselves civilization cannot now withdraw: and thirdly, how all these things can best be secured for all parties consistently with the best advantages to them all. It is in the judicious and honest balancing of these three things—the pursuit of our own interests, native interests, and other people's interests—that the future welfare of the Pacific, and perhaps that of the whole world too, depends. The importance of this inquiry is now becoming apparent, and if we are to conduct

it with any profit or success we must be very honest and very frank. Fortunately, the Great War is making us for the time at least more honest and frank in thought and deed. But unless we realize that this is so we run the risk of falling back into the habits of the old world, of verbal glosses and practical opportunism.

IV. INTERESTS OF CIVILIZED RACES IN THE PACIFIC

If we reckon the history of modern colonization to start with the discovery of the New World by the Spaniards, we see that the first motives were the spirit of enterprise, the desire for gold, and the religious desire of converting savages to Christianity. These motives still exist, but while the first and third of them remain practically unchanged, the second has changed its form to a more presentable shape, and, discarding the crudeness of the past, now assumes the appearance of the more worthy objectives of trading, agriculture, and mining. The stock of gold ornaments of the Peruvians was soon absorbed by their conquerors, and the Colonial Governors and settlers were speedily left faced with the alternative of abandoning the country or developing its natural resources. They chose the latter alternative, and there being nothing left to steal from the aboriginals they stole the aboriginals themselves, turning them into slaves and forcing them to

till their own lands and mine their own mines for their Masters' profit. And when the supply of native slaves ran dry in any place it was natural to import them from more crowded countries, as the Americans and ourselves did in the case of the United States and the West Indies. The ideas of Mankind move slowly, and it took a long time before not merely the moral wickedness but the bad business aspect of such a system became established in the public conscience. When it did, and it must not be forgotten that it only did so within the last hundred years, it became the nominal policy of all civilized nations to endeavour to develop their colonies on lines of equity, freedom, and decency. Colonization in the Pacific Islands did not begin in earnest until this new conception had become an accepted fact.

We shall have an opportunity later of seeing in some detail how far practice often falls short of theory. Public sentiment as crystallized in the law has never permitted slavery in the Pacific, that is to say it has never officially recognized that ancient institution. But by replacing it with the alternative system of "indentured labour," we have often rendered the actual lot of the Kanaka worse and more hopeless than that even of the old African slave. Indeed the system of indentured labour has, speaking generally, been far more devastating in its effects than slavery ever was. No slaving race of antiquity

or modern times can ever rival in its destructive results the unqualifiable record of indentured labour as practised by the Belgians in the Congo. Even the Great War itself still falls far short of that dire slaughter. To reduce a population from forty millions to eight millions in thirty years is a world's record. Wherever one turns to view this modern substitute for slavery we see similar results. It is not because the system is inherently unjust. On the contrary in theory it is excellent. It is because neither Government nor white man will carry it out. Vested interests are touched, and everything has to give way to them.

So although in theory there should be no difficulty in developing the resources of the Pacific, we find at once that we are faced by an obstacle more difficult to overcome than slavery itself, for it is an obstacle which presents all the evils of slavery under a more specious form than slavery ever presented. The Public cannot understand how a system which looks so well in theory can have evil results. It cannot believe that its Government and public officials could acquiesce for a single moment in it if it did. It cannot understand the inertia of officialdom, or the paralysis of conscience which overtakes in this regard even the most kindly of men. But it is only too true that there are few thinkers in the world. Thought is largely a matter of habit, custom, and environment.

And so it is that at the present day one of the old motives for colonization, the hunger for gold, later replaced by a desire to enslave native races in order to produce gold, or wealth the equivalent of gold, has been metamorphosed into the indentured labour system, which is in reality only a covert and less savoury way of attaining the same end. The three old primal motives still subsist. There is still the spirit of enterprise, the love of wandering for its own sake, the lust of fame to be acquired for the individual and of empire for the nation. There is still the feeling that something should be given back by the conquering race to the conquered in the shape of the former's cherished religion—though only too often this desire is prompted as much by the hope of "acquiring merit" as of doing any good to the recipients. And there is still the old love of gold or wealth which, when one path to its realization is blocked, will search unwearyingly for another and if possible a shorter one.

This desire for wealth is in truth the main objective of colonization. The two other motives are ancillary and often incidental. And so it may be stated at once, and without fear of contradiction, that the interests of civilized races in the Pacific, as generally understood, are those of agriculture, commerce, and mining. To these we must add a fourth which arises from a desire to protect the three first, viz. strategic interests.

(a) *Agriculture.* The Pacific Islands for the

most part lie in the tropical zone, and are therefore one of the main or potential sources from which the world obtains, or may obtain, those products of nature which can only be obtained regularly from hot countries. Owing to the limited area of land which lies around the Equator, the total products can never exceed a limited quantity, and for this reason their value is enhanced. Their value is still further enhanced by the consideration that some tropical plants will only grow on certain levels, and consequently large portions of the land surrounding the Equator, particularly the inlying parts of Africa, Australia, and America, may be ruled out of account. To take one important instance, that of the coconut-tree. This tree will never grow more than a few hundred feet above sea-level, and flourishes best by the seashore where the soil is moistened occasionally by sea water. On small islands in the Pacific this phenomenon may easily be observed. For instance, on the island of Tanna in the New Hebrides, there is a road which unites the east and west coasts. It passes over a plateau some fifteen hundred or two thousand feet high. There is not a single coconut-tree on this plateau. The low-lying lands near the sea, on the other hand, are on both sides covered with them. Consequently, when a native of one of the plateau tribes needs coconuts for consumption, he has to buy them from the salt-water natives. The only known exception to this rule is to be found

in the oasis of Tabora in German East Africa, where coconuts flourish at a height of three thousand feet above sea-level. The result is that the total area of land available for coconut plantations in the world is very small. The native populations require a certain amount of this themselves for the production of what is to them a staple food. The world's copra comes from what they can spare for sale, and from the plantations started by Europeans. There is still a good deal of room for development, but the possible development is strictly limited. On the other hand, the need of the world for copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) is steadily increasing. It enters more and more into our manufactures. From it we get soap, oil, cattle-cakes sweetmeats, margarine, and many other things. Bananas, coffee, cocoa, sugar-cane, and cotton are all products of the Pacific which are required by white races.

We have now reached the point at which the superficial observer stops. He recognizes all we have said, that the white man has need of certain products of the tropics which cannot be obtained elsewhere, that there is a limit, a geographical limit, to the final total to be obtained, and that, after allowing for the needs of the aborigines, there is a quantity of land which is at present unoccupied and uncultivated which is suitable for the making of plantations by the white man. He also realizes that the native is as yet in-

sufficiently developed to be able to exploit his own country by himself. And so the conclusion seems inevitable that it is not only the right, but the duty of the white man to step in and cultivate these vacant and uncultivated lands, both in order to make a living for himself and also to increase the world's supply of much-needed tropical products. At first it seemed easy to do this, as the islands were thickly populated, and labour was cheaply obtained. Now that the supply of labour is rapidly diminishing, it is not easy either to develop further, or even to maintain developed that which has already been opened up. What then is to be done? The difficulty was met at first by importing other labour from other places. But when that temporary expedient failed—and it may be said that in many places it has now failed—what was to be done then? That is the question which has puzzled and is puzzling the white race. Sir Everard im Thurn, Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific from 1904 to 1910, refers in a letter to the *Spectator* (No. 4641 of June 9, 1917) to "the very difficult question as to how to supply a new source of labour for these tropical islands," and crystallizes the problem as it is generally understood in these words. Let us get the problem quite clear in our minds. This is it—The white race has plantations in the Pacific, and wants to develop new ones. The native (Kanakas) race is dying out. The

other imported labour is running short. What is to be done if no more can be obtained ?

In desperation it is sometimes suggested that white labour should be employed in lieu of native labour. There are many who argue that the Kanaka was not indispensable in Queensland, and therefore the white man could be employed as a labourer in other tropical climates. There is a strong effort being made in Australia at the present time to induce white settlement in the Northern Territory of the Commonwealth. As, however, on December 31, 1915, there were only 4563 whites (including half-castes) in the 523,620 square miles of the Northern Territory, it cannot be said that the movement has so far met with much success. But we must ask ourselves the question : Can the white man be a labourer in the tropics ? Can he settle on and cultivate the land there in the same way as he can in colder climates ? A great deal depends on the answer to this question. If he can, then this would be a possible solution to the problem in front of the Pacific Islands ; if he cannot, then we must look elsewhere.

We can only answer this question by looking at the facts recorded in history of the settlements made by white men in the tropics generally. If we find that the white man has been unable to create colonies therein of the same nature as he has done in the cooler zones, we shall have to argue that what he has failed to do elsewhere

he will also be unable to do in the Pacific. And we should then have to discard, as a policy, any hope or intention of "a white Pacific."

Let us consider—to quote but one example—the case of the Philippine Islands. This Group is actually in the Pacific, and is, therefore, all the more important as a basis of comparison with the other Groups with which we are more immediately concerned, those inhabited by the Kanaka. The aboriginal inhabitants, who number over eight millions, are Malays, and the Group has belonged to the United States of America since 1898, in which year they were ceded by Spain. On July 2, 1898, Mr. O. F. Williams, United States Consul, wrote officially to his Government as follows: "If long occupation or possession on the part of our Government be considered, I believe early and strenuous efforts should be made to bring here from the United States men and women of many occupations—mechanics, teachers, ministers, ship-builders, merchants, electricians, plumbers, druggists, doctors, dentists, carriage and harness makers, stenographers, typewriters, photographers, tailors, blacksmiths, and agents for exporting, and to introduce American products, natural and artificial, of many classes. To all such I pledge every aid, and now is the time to start. Good Government will be easier the greater the influx of Americans.

"My despatches have referred to our present percentage of export trade. If now our exports

come here as interstate, duty free, we have practical control of the Philippine trade, which now amounts to many millions, and because of ingrafting of American energy and methods upon the fabulous natural and productive wealth of these islands, can and probably will be multiplied by twenty during the coming twenty years. All this increment should come to our nation, and not go to any other.

"I hope for an influx this year of ten thousand ambitious Americans, and all can live well, and become enriched."

Mr. Williams in this letter adopts this view of the practicability and desirability of settling white men in a Pacific Group in exactly the same way as one might settle them in a cold climate. In doing so he is merely adopting the average official view, and the average view of the ordinary citizen who either does not know, or is unable to appreciate the differences between the different climatic zones.

I now quote the comments on this letter of Mr. F. M. Sawyer, who was British Consul in Manila, and a resident there for some fourteen years :

"The commercial prospects of the islands are great, even if we do not instantly take for gospel the fairy tales we are told about Manila becoming the centre of the trade of the Pacific. There can be no doubt that if peace and an honest administration can be secured, capital will be attracted and considerable increase in the export

of hemp, tobacco, and sugar will gradually take place as fresh land can be cleared and planted. As I have elsewhere said, the Philippines in energetic and skilful hands will soon yield up the store of gold which the poor Spaniards have been so mercilessly abused for leaving behind them. But the Philippines are not, and never will be a country for the poor white man. A white man cannot labour there without great danger to his health. He cannot compete with the native or Chinese mechanic, in fact he is not wanted there at all. For my part, I would never employ a white man there as a labourer or mechanic, if I could help it, more especially an Englishman or American, for I know from experience what the result would be. As foreman or overseer a white man may be better, according to his skill and character.

“Now let me, as soon as possible, expose the absurdity of this mischievous letter, which I fear may already have done much harm, but I hope my warning may do something to counteract its effects. I venture to say that the man who wrote this astonishing letter, taking upon himself the responsibility of advising ‘early and strenuous efforts’ to send from the United States thousands of men and women of many occupations to Manila, and of assuring them that ‘all could live well and become enriched,’ knew nothing at all about the state of the Philippine Islands, and is a most unsafe guide.

“What on earth would all these tradespeople find to do in the islands? Where could they be housed? How could they be supported? If they came in numbers, the doctors and druggists might indeed find full employment prescribing and making up medicine for the many sufferers from tropical ailments, especially the typhoid fevers, that would attack the unacclimatized immigrants, and the ministers could earn their daily bread by reading the burial service, while the typewriters would be busy typing letters to friends at home announcing the deaths that occurred; and warning them against coming to starve in Manila. But I defy any one to explain how the shipbuilders, electricians, plumbers, tailors and blacksmiths are to make a living. As regards merchants or agents for exporting, I may say that Americans have not been very successful in Manila in this capacity.”

Mr. Sawyer then gives particulars of the failure of four large trading firms, and conjectures that these failures came about because they were “in too much of a hurry and tried to hustle the East.” “Yet,” he continues, “in face of this calamitous experience Oscar F. Williams advises more to come, ‘pledges every aid,’ and predicts that ‘trade can, and probably will, be multiplied by twenty during the coming twenty years.’ For my part, I should think it great progress if the exports and imports of the Philippines could be doubled in twenty years. The idea of sending

plumbers to Manila where lead pipes are not used, is a comicality only matched by the suggestion that tailors are wanted amongst a population dressed in cotton shirts and trousers, and where the white people wear veranda-made white duck suits.

"Both notions are more suitable for a comic opera than for an official document.

"There is only one more paragraph in this letter that I need comment on.

"Mr. Williams says: 'Good government will be easier, the greater the influx of Americans.'

"To those who know the East there is no necessity to argue on this point, I therefore state dogmatically—that the presence of white settlers or working people in these islands would add enormously to the difficulties of government. This is my experience, and during the Spanish administration it was generally admitted to be the case.

"In British India the Government does not in the least degree favour the immigration of British workmen. The only people who are recognized as useful to that country are capitalists and directors of agricultural or industrial enterprises.

"A large number of American mechanics turned loose amongst the population would infallibly, by their contempt for native customs, and disregard of native feeling, become an everlasting source of strife and vexation. Impartial justice

between the parties would be unattainable ; the whites would not submit to be judged by a native magistrate, and the result would be a war of races.

" It may be taken as probable that there is no crime, however heinous, that could be committed by an American upon a native, that would involve the execution of the death penalty on the criminal. On the other hand, I can quite believe that natives laying their hands upon Americans, whatever the provocation, would be promptly hanged, if they were not shot down upon the spot. . . .

" I think, therefore, that the American Administration of the Philippines should be empowered to prevent or regulate the immigration of impetunious Americans or Europeans whose presence in the islands must be extremely prejudicial to the much-desired pacification. No, the poor white is not wanted in the islands, he would be a curse, and a residence there would be a curse to him. He would decay morally, mentally, and physically. . . .

" Long sojourn in some other lands appears to act in a different manner. In tropical Africa it seems to be the moral balance that is lost. The conscience is blunted if not destroyed, the veneer of civilization is stripped off, and the white man reverts to savagery. The senseless cruelties of some of the outlying officials of the Congo Free State are not mere coincidences. They must be ascribed to one common cause, and that is de-

basement by environment. The moral nature of a white man seems to become contaminated by long isolation amongst savages as surely as the physical health by living amongst lepers.

"If a poor white man wishes to sink to the level of a native, he has only to marry a native woman and his object will be fully attained in a few years. But he will find it very much to his pecuniary interest, for she will buy cheaper and sell dearer than he can, and will manage his house and his business, too, most economically. Some of her relations will come and live with him, so that he will not feel lonely, and a half-caste family will grow up round about him, talking the dialect of their mother, which he, perhaps, does not understand. But if the poor white man takes out a white wife he will probably have the pain and distress of seeing her fade away under the severity of the climate, which his means do not permit him to alleviate. White women suffer from the heat far more than men. Children cannot be properly brought up there after the age of twelve. They must either be sent home to be educated, or allowed to deteriorate and grow up inferior to their parents in health, strength, and moral fibre. When I think of these things I feel amazed at Oscar F. Williams's presumption in writing that letter. . . .

"However, now I have done with the poor white man. Capital is the greatest necessity of the Philippines. . . ." And Mr. Sawyer goes on

to say that the things which are really needed in the Philippines are banks which will advance money to *bona fide* workers at reasonable rates of interest, and various kinds of mills and water transport.

It may be added that Mr. Sawyer showed himself a true prophet in regard to the increase of trade. Fortunately, the American Government had the good sense not to follow Mr. Williams's advice, and did not ship out tens of thousands of poor white men. The white man has been merely the organizer and inspirer of enterprise, and in the period of nearly twenty years that has elapsed since the cession of the Group by Spain, the imports and exports have each practically doubled. I have quoted this report of Mr. Sawyer's at great length, for it appears to me to be very instructive and to point the way to the true rôle which the white man is destined by Nature to play in tropical countries.

(b) *Trading*. The Pacific Islands form a market for the surplus manufactures of more advanced communities, and provide a means of livelihood for a certain number of white men. At first there was a difficulty. The islands had certain things to give or supply, in the early days before the use of copra became generally understood and valued (and still), such as sandal-wood, mother-of-pearl shells, pearls, etc. But it was impossible to barter as the natives had no needs outside what they already possessed. They had food and they

did not want clothes or money. Hence it became necessary to foster tastes in them, to create desires. Some desires, such as a liking for alcohol, are very easy to foster. And as the natives had no idea of relative values, they were easily persuaded to give up anything, even their one possession, their land, for the surplus rubbish of civilization. By the time the natives have lost all their lands there is only one thing left for the white man to take, and that is the native himself. He cannot any longer make him a slave in name, but he can make him an indentured labourer, which comes to the same thing. If this process be pushed to its logical conclusion, it is clear that in course of time there will be no trade with natives left. The only trade then left will be with other white men, and with the outside world. A similar result will come about if the native race disappears altogether. There is certainly more danger of the latter contingency than of the former. For as will be seen hereafter, in some of the Groups of the Pacific, labour conditions are being improved. Both eventualities have, however, to be faced, and strong measures are necessary to ensure fair trading and so to perpetuate trading. It must be clear that a lively interchange of trade is beneficial to the white man, and that it is only a policy of folly which, for the sake of great and immediate profits will sacrifice the future by killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The fact of the matter is that

exactly the opposite has happened in the Pacific to what has happened in England. In England we have devoted our attention to trading and neglected agriculture. We have been content to draw our raw materials, even our food, chiefly from abroad. And it needed the Great War to make us realize the mistake of a one-sided policy. In the Pacific Islands, on the other hand (probably in part as a result of the policy of the Old Country), trading has been regarded as a makeshift or a stopgap, merely useful to supplement the main business of the white settler—that of the creation of a plantation. The settlers have, therefore, regarded the natives merely as useful plantation hands, and have never systematically envisaged them as consumers. But it is as a consuming community that they would naturally have the best opportunity of surviving as a race, for then the old village life continues. Plantation life breaks up the native community, and is a powerful factor in destroying the race. It is the old desire of sudden wealth which is at work. It takes longer to develop and increase a race, and with it extend trade, than it does to create a plantation. The profits of the present or the near future are the determining factor, and no one gives a thought to the distant future. Already there is a cry throughout the Pacific for more labour for plantations. No one stops to consider how that shortage has come about, or how it is to be checked. It is realized that the native popula-

tion is diminishing owing to abuses, diseases, and so forth, but though those are indeed powerful factors, they are not the most important or the underlying ones. Those lie in the organization of the whole community. When remedies are sought for, though no doubt palliatives may be found in the check of abuses and the prevention of disease, the general sentiment expressed is not in the direction of the search of a radical cure, but of some alternative or substitute. It is felt that the situation is now past remedy. The natives are constitutionally idle, and racially incapable of arresting their own decay. The only thing to do is to use up what remains of them and to supplement, and finally replace them with Oriental labour from outside. And when they have in turn disappeared, then to import others, and so on indefinitely. This is simply a burking of the problem. It is not a solution, it is an expedient. The solution lies in a proper balancing of the various necessary parts of an organized community. No one part should be allowed to progress at the expense of another. Plantations should not be allowed to stamp out trade. How this is to be brought about we will consider later on. At present it is sufficient to lay down general principles. But it may be said generally that the key of the question lies in the one word "education." And we have to start by educating ourselves. For what is education? It is not merely the acquisition, parrot-like, of numbers of

facts. It is the realization of the meaning and interrelation of facts. We can never hope to bring any venture to a successful issue unless we can realize in the first place what it is we are really aiming at. Vagueness of objective is the cause of most of the troubles of the world.

(c) *Mining*. From this point of view we must consider the Pacific as divided into two parts, the coral islands and the non-coral islands. New Caledonia and Fiji are Groups which could supply minerals if properly worked. The atoll Groups can have none. Some Groups partake of both natures, especially the volcanic ones like the New Hebrides. But no systematic investigation has yet taken place into the resources of the Pacific in this regard. In principle, mining may prove of value both to Europeans and natives, but in a consideration of the question it should not be forgotten that the natives are the original owners of the soil, and have a moral right to a part of any discoveries that may be made.

(d) *Strategic*. The strategic interests of all civilized nations in the Pacific consist in the possibility of their use as bases of attack or defence. The matter will be discussed in detail later. It suffices here to remark that nearly every Group has a variety of excellent harbours, and that no Great Power can afford to see those harbours in immediate proximity to its own coasts in the hands of some other Power with whom some day it may be at variance. And this

must be supplemented by saying that the term "immediate proximity" must in these days of fast steaming and airship development be taken in a wide sense.

These, then, are the immediate and easily recognizable interests of civilized nations in the Pacific to-day. But we have other interests which are real enough, though perhaps not at first sight so obvious. They are interests which coincide with our duties and responsibilities to these subject races. "Honesty is the best policy"—the adage is an old one, but we must try and seize the spirit of the adage and make it part of ourselves. No scheme of things can ever be a real success unless it is founded on just principles. We must not be misled by the glamour of temporary and immediate profit. Our real interest lies in founding a state of affairs which *will* bring us increasing profits as the years go on. Empire is a long investment, but long investments are the best in the long run, for they promote stability, peace and the greatest happiness of the greatest number. A spendthrift policy may make for greater present enjoyment, and may even advantage others besides the spender, but it is inevitably followed by lean years of misery and sometimes by extinction. We have therefore a double interest in seeing that in our development of the Pacific we proceed on lines of justice. We have the interest in knowing that it is morally right, and also that it is in the long run the best business.

All our acts, whether they be those of officials or individuals, should constantly keep in mind the necessity of fair play between everybody. All the varied interests of the white races, those of trading, commerce, mining, strategy, moral and practical, depend in the last resort on the establishment of a thriving community. And, as in tropical countries a thriving community is practically impossible without the co-operation of natives, who alone are able by their racial constitution to till the soil and labour and live there, our chief interest lies in the founding of thriving native communities.

V. INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS IN THE PACIFIC

The interests and rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of the various Pacific Groups in their native islands are clearly those of any race in its native land. This seems axiomatic in its simplicity, and yet, like many other axioms, in the course of ages it has been obscured and clouded over by the selfishness of vested interests until at the present time it is common to meet people who conscientiously believe that the natives are in some vague way as it were interlopers in their own lands, and who maintain that as they are a decaying stock, the sooner they disappear altogether and leave free space for a more vigorous people the better. Such people appear to me to miss the point of the dispositions of Providence.

We must ask ourselves why it is that we find the world distributed amongst peoples of different stocks, just as we find different species of flora and fauna in different quarters of the globe. We may notice that every country has in its flora and fauna what is best suited to it. And this must also logically be true of its human population. We may explain this if we will by deriving all human races from an original stock which spread over all the world, and in time, under climatic influences assumed greatly different forms, both external of physique and internal of mental development. No doubt this is in general true. But it does not alter the essence of the problem or the deductions we may fairly draw. In truth the varied climates in the world do not merely mould men, animals, and plants to become suitable denizens of each : they do more than that. They attract these varied forms of life which contain in themselves the characteristics suitable for acclimatization, and in dealing with the varied forms that present themselves by chance or design, weed out and destroy those that are unsuitable, and develop and increase the suitable, and so in time evolve new types. This is a long process which Nature takes her own time over, and the results of which she will not change violently or immediately. This process is one of the devices of Providence working through Nature to ensure the distribution of living beings over the whole earth, and to make violent conflict unnecessary. We see the results in the facts that

natives of tropical climates cannot live permanently in the colder zones, and in the deterioration that takes place in white races when removed from their natural environment. We can discern this principle at work when we observe that it is not in the cold climates of Europe and North America that white men enact laws to prevent the flooding of the labour market by natives of tropical climates. It is unnecessary, for they do not come, as Nature forbids. It is in countries like Australia and California which contain tropical lands that we find such enactments. And such enactments in such countries show that the white races are attempting the impossible, for they are attempting to go against the immutable decrees of Nature. The natives of the tropics are the natural inhabitants of the tropics just as white men are the natural inhabitants of the colder zones. It would certainly be possible to get rid of all tropical races and restart the process. But it could only mean eventually that by a process extending over many thousands of years the white immigrants into those tropical countries who had ousted the original natives, would evolve a new native race with black or brown skins. And in the meantime, and in order to replace one native race with another—an utterly futile aim which can only be dictated by the selfish desire of immediate profits—one race would have to be destroyed and the progress of humanity retarded until the new native race had been evolved. In

all our dealings with tropical races, if we wish to succeed, we must constantly keep in mind the laws of Nature in the world we live in.

This tendency of Nature to keep different parts of the world for different peoples is illustrated in another way by the distaste she has implanted in different races against intermarriage. This will be obvious on reflection. There is no mingling, no desire to mingle, between the whites of the United States and the African negroes living there. In Fiji, Indians will not intermarry with Fijians, and in India Eurasians never survive the third generation. Instances might be multiplied. But the fact remains that the different stocks of cold zones may intermarry and thrive (as we have seen in England, or as we may observe in Canada, where we can mingle with the Red Indians), but Nature will not permit a race to be derived from the intermixture of races of tropical and temperate zones.

We are thus driven to the conclusion that to deprive the Pacific Isles of their present and natural inhabitants, the Kanaka race, would be a violation of the laws of Nature, and that any attempt to replace the Kanaka by some other race suited to some other clime is foredoomed to failure. And thus we see, on purely practical grounds, that the instinct of a healthy mind that the aborigines of a country have a moral right to live in it, and should be encouraged to develop and expand, is a right one.

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Now every race in normal circumstances has an instinct to live and expand. It is only in abnormal circumstances that the desire for life fails in individual or race. And from the little we know of the state of the Pacific Islands at the time of the first entry of the white man into them, we can see that the Kanaka race was no exception to this general rule of humanity. All observers are agreed that the islands were densely populated, far more so than they are to-day, and that in spite of frequent inter-tribal fighting and the narrowness of the land area. And it is only since abnormal circumstances in the shape of a higher civilization have been forced upon them that they have begun to lose heart and to decay. This process has been facilitated and accelerated by the immense subdivision that exists amongst the Kanakas, especially in Melanesia, which is evidenced by the great number of different languages, and which has prevented any general national spirit from arising such as we find in the continents of Europe and Asia. There is always strength in mere numbers, but that strength the Kanaka has always lacked. It is, however, a strength that could be fostered, and not even the smallness and number of the different islands need be a fatal obstacle to its development. Much could be done in this direction by the spreading of a common language, and indeed something has already thus been done by pidgin-English.

From another angle we may see that this expansion of the Kanaka race which is both a duty and a profit to us, is not only a right but a duty to them. If we accept the proposition that the Kanakas are the natural inhabitants of these regions, it follows that it must be their duty to endeavour to remain as such. And what they did by mere instinct before our coming, now that they are more sophisticated they must learn to do by knowledge. And they can only do so by education, with ourselves for teachers.

I have said above that coloured races, the brown and the black, are the natural inhabitants of tropical climes, and the white races of the colder zones, and that any attempt to transpose this rule is contrary to Nature. This is true, but we must be careful not to push the argument too far. We must not conclude hastily that the tropics should be entirely reserved for natives, and cold zones for white men, and that no dealings whatsoever should take place between the two. Each race and country in the world can acquire benefits from other races and countries, and all conspire or should conspire together to the general advance of humanity. But the major interests in every place must be those of its natural inhabitants, and visitors from other zones must as far as their race is concerned always remain as strangers in a far country. Although we know that Nature *can* evolve over a great length of time a new race suited to a different

zone, yet we can see that the space of time required is so long as to rule it out of practical politics as far as we are concerned. We can see this from the record of human migrations in the two thousand years our records of history cover. In them we find no example of the transformation of a race from white to black or black to white. And so we are left wondering at the time Nature would require to effect such a transformation. But we do see that all successful migrations have been those which have kept to the same or a similar zone of climate. We see on the one hand that the English can colonize successfully in Canada, the colder (southern) parts of Australia, and the colder (southern) parts of Africa. There new white races are being built up. We see the African negro expanding in the southern and hot states of the United States. We see the inhabitants of Southern Europe, like the Spaniard, seeking the Argentine. On the other hand we see Englishmen ruling, it is true, in India, but not founding a new white race there, any more than the Dutch have done in the East Indies or the French in Indo-China. The stream of migration flows in zones, and though in the remote past migration must have taken place from one zone to another, from the cold to the hot, we can see how arduous the change must have been, for the survivors have lost practically all trace of civilization on their way. With such a formidable lesson from history before us, what folly for us

to suppose for one moment that we can out-manœuvre Nature and dispense with the Kanaka in the Pacific ! The only rôle that the white man is allowed by Nature to play in tropical climates is that of educator. He can give the natives his superior knowledge, and help them to help themselves to a higher civilization, and to be of use to white races. If he neglect his proper rôle, fails to educate and thus preserve the natives, and concerns himself merely with making as great immediate monetary profits as he can for his own sole advantage, he will merely depopulate the islands and then find them useless. The present condition of the Marquesas illustrates my thesis. The deadly administration of the French has practically eliminated the aboriginal native population, and the Group is now to all intents empty and useless. It might be possible under a better Government to resettle the Group with other members of the Kanaka race, but the stores to draw on are becoming less and less every year. If other white races in the Pacific continue to follow in greater or less degree the policy of the French, then there will be no Kanakas left to draw on, and all the Groups will be like the Marquesas.

We see then, that as it is the white man's interest in the Pacific to fulfil the natural functions of a stronger and wiser race by guarding, strengthening and developing the weaker and more ignorant races there, and not in trying to supplant

them, so it is the interest of the Kanaka race to fulfil its natural function of self-development and expansion. And in the same way as we have seen that the white man's way to the fulfilment of his supreme interest is to employ equitably his subsidiary interests of trading, planting, etc., so too we must trace the interests of the Kanaka in his islands, and see how he can best make use of them to enable *his* race to fulfil *its* supreme interest. But before we pass to that it will be as well first to consider the present condition of the Kanaka, and what harm he has suffered so far, or what advantages he has gained by contact with white races and higher civilizations.

VI. CAUSES OF NATIVE DECADENCE IN THE PACIFIC

Like all pictures that have to be painted of different countries or races, the one of the present-day state of the Kanaka race is one of light and shade. Unfortunately it must be owned that there is greater shade than light. The brightest spots—those which show an effort on the part of the white man to improve the native, that is by way of education—are chiefly to be found in the work of the various missions which we shall examine in a later chapter. The darkest ones lie in the rapid decay of the native population. It is, as has been said before, impossible to give full and accurate statistics of this decay, but the following estimates are suggestive.

The Colonial Office list for 1883 states that the estimated population of Fiji in 1859 was 200,000. It is now 87,000. Dr. Felix Speiser, a Swiss scientist who visited the New Hebrides in 1912, estimated the probable population in 1882 at 600,000. In 1911, the official figure was 65,000, and to-day the actual figure is considerably less. The Colonial Office list of 1892, however, states that the population was then under 100,000, and that the Missions estimated it at about 50,000. Undoubtedly this last figure was an underestimate. The older missionaries describe how, when they first arrived, forty to fifty years ago, there were numerous and thriving villages all over the country where now there is nothing but bush. The population of New Caledonia in 1850 is given by the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (11th edition) at 60,000; to-day it is 28,000. Similarly it gives the population of the Marquesas in 1842 at 20,000; now it is only 4000.

These are merely examples, and as I have little confidence in the figures I forbear to quote more of them. It is, however, a notorious fact that the native races have during the past half-century greatly diminished in numbers.

We can to a certain extent examine the causes of that decay, and from them we may deduce appropriate remedies. But first we must make a careful distinction between fundamental and incidental causes. By fundamental causes we mean those things which affect the standard of life of a

community as a whole; by incidental ones we mean those which are merely accidental and which can exist or be removed without affecting the general standard of life. The former are by far the more important, though it is generally those which are entirely lost sight of. The latter are not unimportant by any means. They may and generally do mean immense destruction. By their removal one may secure an arrest, or at least a diminution in the rate of decay, but to ensure development and expansion we have to remove the fundamental causes.

We have already partly seen, and we shall see further as we proceed, that the fundamental cause of the decay of the Kanaka population is simply the destruction of the old native way of life, and our failure to replace it with an adequate substitute. Ignorant and often debased as the Kanaka race was when first touched by the white man, still it had a scheme of existence which enabled it to maintain an existence. It had its own scheme of regulating tribal life which was based chiefly on the systems of totemism and exogamy, and these were enforced by the power of local Chiefs. The authority of the old system, however, rapidly became sapped when the white man entered and established a supreme Government which ignored and flouted the Chiefs, and weakened the village communities by withdrawing their young and able-bodied men for work on plantations. It may be said that this was inevitable:

and so perhaps to a certain extent it was. But it was not impossible to give them another system to take its place. This, unfortunately, we have not done. We have never troubled to explain our system of life and Government to them, but have been content to let things drift and shape their own course. To give a specific example. In the New Hebrides, criminal law was, of course, originally administered according to native custom by the Chiefs. When the Government came in it refused to allow the Chiefs to hold Courts any longer, and yet it has not even yet set up a Court or given a criminal code for use in inter-native offences.* If, therefore, a crime is committed in a village, both Chief and Government are helpless. The offender remains unpunished, and the Chief is recognized for what he is—a shadow. Certainly this is an extreme case. In other Groups criminal codes have been promulgated and Courts established to enforce them. But too often these codes are simply a re-enactment of our own Western laws without any reference to local requirements. For instance, laws applicable to natives punishing forgery are simply silly, whereas our English criminal law does not regard adultery as a crime, while the Kanaka point of view regards it as worthy of death. Again, in the matter of the marriage

* Since I wrote this passage a Joint Regulation has been passed giving criminal jurisdiction over certain inter-native offences to the Joint Court.

system we regard the marriage of first cousins as legitimate, but under the system of exogamy such a marriage is incestuous. To substitute or to allow the substitution of their system by ours in this respect has, of course, deplorable results on the morals of the people. It spells a relaxation of their morals which spreads in all directions, and eventually corrupts and disintegrates the community.

In the framing of new laws and the machinery to enforce them we should realize that it is impossible until the primitive race has been educated up to our standard to abolish their system and simply replace it with our own. To achieve their education the change should be as gradual as possible. Their own customs and habits should be made use of. And the same applies to the new mode of life. In the old days Kanakas lived chiefly off their gardens, and ate little meat save at feasts. Their staple foods are and always have been such things as yams, taro, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconuts. When we withdraw them from village life we feed them only too often on our foods, particularly on rice. The result is much sickness and mortality. Again, the system of labour on plantations is quite contrary to the spirit of the race. The Kanaka is accustomed throughout the ages to work very hard for a time at the making of his garden, but after that he rests. The steady work implied by our indentured labour system which means any-

thing up to a three years' engagement, is fatal to his constitution. And again we give the Kanaka certain European tastes such as the tobacco habit, or fashions such as the wearing of clothes, but we fail to teach him how such things should be used with discretion. The wearing of clothes, in particular, has been the cause of much tuberculosis. Examples might be multiplied. But the point I wish to establish is that if we wish to cause the development of the race we must move with much forethought, and replace the old way of life which we have destroyed with a new way of life which is suitable to them. And this can only be done by education.

The incidental causes to which I refer are those well-known abuses such as the sale of alcohol, kidnapping, ill-treatment on plantations, and the introduction of disease. Everybody is at one on the point that such things should be suppressed, but in many places they flourish without check. I refer in particular to the New Hebrides. In other Groups such abuses are checked to a great extent. But even where they are, it is seldom that one sees the Government go further and treat the fundamental causes. It would almost seem as if the local Administrations thought the task of educating the natives too hard a one to tackle, even if they have arrived at the point that it is one they ought to tackle. In New Caledonia the natives who still survive are practically confined to the islands of the Loyalties. The

other greater lands of New Caledonia have been taken from them, and they live therefore like fowls in a coop, with sufficient to maintain existence, but without incentive to ambition. The scheme to be enforced in the New Hebrides, of native reserves, is in the same line of thought. Nominally it is an effort on the part of the British and French Governments to protect those natives who through imprudence have sold all their village lands to white men, and as such it is very laudable. But the desire of the two Governments apparently stops there. The natives are to be given just enough to maintain life on, and no more. There is no thought of providing for, still less of stimulating in them, a desire for development and increase. In Fiji the British Government has gone a step further, but still not far enough. It has allowed the Fijians to retain the bulk of their lands, but it has no idea of teaching them how to use them, and why they should use them. It is still the hencoop theory that is in force. A higher note is struck in the Ellice Group and in Papua, where natives are being made to plant their lands little by little every year for their own benefit. The American system in Hawaii whereby the natives have retained their lands and are allowed to sell them at high figures errs in excess of kindness, for by it the natives certainly are spoiled in the present, while no provision is being made for them in the future. Undoubtedly the only Government in the Pacific

which is making an intelligent attempt to develop the Kanakas under its charge is the Commonwealth Government of Papua. It is an object-lesson to the others.

I think we may find some useful material for considering the very restricted usefulness of the system of native reserves if we glance for a moment at the position in one or two other countries where they have been established. One or two instances will suffice to enlighten us on their general and probable effects.

In Australia a great effort has been made, especially in Queensland, to educate the native in these reserves. It has not, however, been very successful, owing partly to the fact that the Australian aborigine is far lower in type than the Pacific Islander, and also, owing to the fact that in his natural state he was not an agriculturist but a hunter of small animals. The problem of the Australian aborigine is therefore a peculiarly difficult one, and we have only to note here that the remedy of "reserves" does not seem to have been effectual, for the native still decreases in numbers.

A better parallel will be found in Canada, where reserves have been established for the Red Indian, for the Red Indian is far more intelligent, and he has the additional advantage of being a denizen of a cold climate, and therefore capable of being assimilated in time into the white race. That subject, however, will be discussed later. As

regards the working of the reserves and the effects they produce, we may note the following facts. In the first place, it is admitted that the system has not been an unqualified success. There is a law forbidding any white man entering an Indian reserve except on business, and temporarily to transact the same. Owing to lack of supervision and the wide interpretation that can be given to such a general term as "business," the reserves have become a hotbed of vice, with the result that at the present day there are few full-blooded Indians left, and most of those are riddled with syphilis and other diseases imported by the lower-class white man. Efforts have been made to remedy this state of affairs. The Roman Catholic missionaries induce parents to surrender their children for education on the condition that they shall never be allowed to return to the reserves. By the time these children have reached a marriageable age the desire to return disappears, and they subsequently contract marriage either with other Indians or with whites. The half-caste children rank as whites, and, indeed, owing to the lightness of the colour of the Indian, it takes an experienced eye to detect their origin. The system of education given is of a far higher standard than that given to natives in tropical countries. It approximates to the European standard, and renders its recipients capable of taking their place as equals in the European Canadian community. That Indians are capable

of being educated thus is a fact beyond dispute. A famous instance is that of Father Duncan, who some fifty years ago settled amongst the tribe of Nimkish Indians at the mouth of Alert Bay in Vancouver Island. The tribe, subsequently, was moved further north, into Alaska, into United States territory, owing to differences which arose between its missionary and the governing body of the Church Missionary Society in London. At the present day the natives of this tribe, while retaining their physical and racial characteristics, are completely raised to the European standard of civilization. They have discarded all old useless customs, and compete with Europeans on equal terms. This result is better even than that achieved by the Roman Catholic system, for it has avoided the inconvenience of breaking up family life. Such a result, however, which can only be attributed to the special genius of an individual missionary (and which, unfortunately, is not possessed by all) is of rare occurrence. The difficulties of converting and Europeanizing the whole of a tribe, including the old folk of it, are immense. It is much easier to Europeanize the younger generation, though this can most easily be done by removing the children entirely from the tribe, and by prohibiting their return lest they should retrogress and lose the veneer attained by a few years' education. This is rendered easier in Canada by the consideration above alluded to, viz. the possibility of marrying them off to

partners of the same or of a higher standard of development than themselves.

It is of course possible, and indeed it has not infrequently occurred, to educate Kanakas in a similar way and up to a similar standard, provided they are sent as little children to a European school and removed entirely from tribal life. There are a number of natives in the South-West Pacific who have attended State schools in Queensland, and who have acquired there an idiomatic use of English and a higher standard of civilization generally. Owing, however, to the deportation of Kanakas in 1906 and the following years from Australia, and owing also to the fact that they had no alternative on their return to their various islands but to resume tribal life, they lost the tincture of the higher civilization they had attained very speedily.

So it will be seen that in Canada, though the native does derive certain advantages from having a reserve, the chief one being that he cannot alienate it even if he wants to, he also derives certain disadvantages. So much so that the Roman Catholics try to get him out of the reserve in order that he may go forward and not stand still. And it will be seen also that the very best results are attained, not by cooping up natives in a reserve, but by giving them free room for development, and by educating, not a section of the tribe, but the whole tribe. This, indeed, is the only way to obviate the incon-

veniences of splitting up family life, or of an educated native losing his education by returning to the old native life. It is certainly more difficult to attack the whole problem rather than a part of it, but in the end that is the only effectual way. And in the case of the Kanaka it must be remembered that he has not the possibility of the Red Indian of marrying into the white race, a circumstance which renders the scheme of the Roman Catholics of educating only a section of the community incapable of successful use in the South Seas. On the whole, therefore, we must conclude that though a reserve may be useful as a temporary remedy to prevent the whiteman from disintegrating the life of a village by taking away all its land and forcing its members out to work as indentured labourers, it can never be a final solution of the problem. What that final solution must be we shall see when we come to consider the question of land in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT

I. THE PROPER OBJECTIVE OF GOVERNMENT

WE have seen thus far that the question of the future of the Pacific Islands is one of great importance; that we have a moral right to enter these islands, and a moral duty to run them properly; and a moral as well as a practical interest in running them properly. And we have seen, incidentally, that there is reason to believe that the present situation is not altogether a satisfactory one. Further reasons for that belief will appear in due course. First, however, let us try to state in an abstract way what the proper objective of a Government should be.

When a man is appointed to a colony, either as a Governor or in some subordinate position, it may be presumed that he should ask himself mentally the question what he is to go there for. What does governing or helping to govern a colony mean? What is his objective? The first principle of all government is the establishment of a *régime* under which human beings may live in peace, and enjoy the use of their life and the fruits of their work undisturbed, limited only by

the condition that they are so to use and enjoy them as not to disturb their neighbours in *their* use and enjoyment of *their* life and possessions. That is the primary object of the laws which are merely a means to ensure by different devices the existence of such a state of affairs. And in formation and application of laws this principle should constantly be borne in mind. But Government has a secondary object which is also very important, and that is to do certain things by means of the collective effort and wealth of the community which individuals would be too weak or too poor to accomplish for themselves. But this second object is not essential to the existence of a Government like the first one is. We can imagine a State which refrains from undertaking public works; but we cannot imagine a State which does not impose the "King's peace." Such a "State" would be mere anarchy and chaos. But, on the other hand, a State which confined its activities to maintaining order, i.e. internal peace, would not be doing its full duty. The third and last function of a Government is to secure the first two principles from violation by outside States. These three things together constitute the whole object of Government.

But it is rare that a Government official has a clean slate to work on. He is not sent out to found a new Government in an empty country, but to continue an already existing one. And so, instead of being able to start off with the creation

of an ideal system founded on the three above principles, he finds himself checked and hampered on all sides by the existence of an already existing state of affairs which probably falls short of perfection, and which transgresses in various ways these three fundamental principles. In a word, he finds himself opposed by vested interests. Now what are these vested interests, and how do they come about? To answer that question, let us look briefly at the way in which the State usually comes into existence.

The State did not, as Hobbes thought, arise from a "social contract," that is to say by a voluntary agreement between scattered individuals who suddenly realized that it was to their mutual advantage that an organization should be created. It arose from the family. The father of the family was the natural chief and the sole owner of the family's possessions and of the family itself. He was this, first on the ground of superior physical strength and greater age and knowledge, and then from custom, habit, and respect. And the same principle, founded on force and interest, ran through subsequent groupings of families until we reach the State itself. The process was a perfectly natural one. But the time came when, either from general motives of convenience or because the head of the family or State abused his position by making the life of his dependents intolerable, a strife arose between the head of the family and his dependents (or

subjects), the object of which was to curtail the powers of ownership and authority of the former, and to give to the latter portions of those powers and possessions. In essence this process was a mere transfer of power and possession. In whosoever hands they lay, they were still "vested interests." There has never been any serious question of altering this scheme of polity. It has been the universal theory and practice of the human race, and its embryo can be traced even amongst the aborigines of Australia. The only modifications have been, not a denial of the theory, but efforts to shift the advantages of existing vested interests from one party which held too much to another which did not hold sufficient. Sometimes this has been done by persuasion, sometimes by revolution.

The world is still run on this principle. Vested interests, or the sense of property, ownership, is the mainspring of human political life; and indeed it is difficult to imagine any other system. Even a shifting of all vested interests to the State would be merely another example of this system. These interests have always the tendency to accumulate in the hands of an individual or a small class. And human struggles have been directed towards establishing a balance between classes, a struggle which must perforce be continually renewed. And so the duties of a Governor are in practice so to rule as to make this universal system of vested interests approximate as closely

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as possible to the three fundamental principles underlying the true State.

This is a task of very great difficulty. The system of vested interests has given birth to many customs and laws which are of such antiquity and authority that they have, as it were, grown to be part of the very nature of mankind. We find, for instance, many privileges, such as the right of vote, of owning property, and of various forms of employment confined to the male sex. It is true these vested interests are now gradually being broken down and abolished, but many still remain. It is a natural sequence from the practice of mankind to differentiate between the rights and privileges of different races, the stronger and conquering race arrogating to itself powers and privileges which it denies to subject races. This is often plausibly explained by the statement that subject races are unfitted yet by their inferior knowledge to share in the responsibilities and therefore in the privileges of the dominant race. And this is true. But it follows necessarily if our Governor is to cause his colony to approximate to the ideal State, he must take steps to increase the efficiency of the subject races under his charge. This can only be achieved by doing two things: (1) by educating, and (2) by protecting the subject races against the dominant races until they are able to compete with them themselves on an equal basis of strength and knowledge. And this latter purpose can only be accomplished

by (a) reducing existing vested interests when opportunity occurs, and (b) by preventing the creation of new or unnecessary vested interests. It is of course impossible as long as human nature remains what it is that we should have a perfect State, a millennium, where no one will infringe the maxim, *sic utere tuo, ut alienum non lædas*. That is the ideal we have to aim for, and no doubt if every one in the world followed the spirit of Christianity faithfully it might be achieved in reality. But in the unhappy default of individual effort to act in an ideal manner, we are thrown back on the next best thing, and that is the force of the Government to compel men by power of the law to approximate as closely as possible to the ideal. Hence it follows that in the formation and application of laws, it is the duty of the law-maker to curtail present vested interests when he can, and to prevent the creation of new ones. It would be no solution of the problem to confiscate and abolish all existing vested interests with a stroke of the pen, and to proceed to a new distribution, or to a centralization of them in the hands of the State. In the former case, (apart from the breach of faith involved) the old state of affairs would speedily recur, while in the latter the only effect would be to establish a tyranny far worse than any existing state of affairs. The Government would then be a ruler in the full and ancient sense of the word, whereas the proper function of a Government is

that of service. A Governor is the paid servant of the State, that is of every citizen in it, and his function is not to rule in the sense of being a Master, but to balance vested interests in such a way as to promote the greatest freedom and happiness for all. And in countries where a white and a coloured population dwell side by side, he is even the more obliged to be a servant, for he owes special tenderness and thought to the welfare of the weaker and less advanced members of the weaker race. He is not merely a servant—he is a guardian and a tutor.

As vested interests vary indefinitely in different parts of the world, so a Governor's practical duties vary in nature according to local conditions. In the Pacific, owing as we have already seen to the fact that the islands are as yet largely undeveloped, there are two principal vested interests which must particularly engage his attention. These are land and labour. We must now consider these two questions at some length, and we shall endeavour, as we proceed, to draw conclusions pointing towards the future policy that should be pursued if we are to attain our objective of flourishing communities where the white and coloured races can dwell together, rendering each other services according to their nature, powers and abilities.

II. THE LAND QUESTION IN THE PACIFIC

In the Pacific there are two policies in regard to land: (1) where the Administration claims the eminent domain over all unoccupied lands, and while leaving the aborigines in undisturbed ownership of the land they live on, leases or sells part of the balance to white immigrants (Papua is an example of this); (2) where the Administration acknowledges the eminent domain of unoccupied lands to reside in the natives, who are free to sell or not to sell as they like. This is the system in Fiji, the New Hebrides, the Solomons, etc.

Superficially the first system would appear to be the less fair. It may well be asked what moral right any white Government has to seize unoccupied lands which, if they belong to any one, must belong to the native population, and to dispose of them for its own profit and for the profit of European immigrants? And of course the answer is that it has no right at all. It was no doubt this feeling of the intrinsic injustice of such a system which influenced the Home Government to refrain from availing itself of waste lands in Fiji. But the second system which conforms outwardly to abstract justice is usually the worse in its effects on the native population in the long run. For, whereas under the first system there is a long period of delay before all the surplus lands can be taken up by white immigrants, a circum-

stance which permits the Government in the event of an expansion of the native population to hand back a portion of the sequestered lands sufficient for their additional requirements, under the second system they are left utterly at the mercy of any unscrupulous white man to persuade them to sell any or all of their lands, often for derisory prices. To-day even the more intelligent native is a mere child in business transactions, and the temptation of a musket, liquor, or a small sum of cash, usually blinds him to any consequences apart from the immediate acquisition of a coveted article. Add to this the fact that a native usually is unable to read the document of transfer presented to him for his signature or mark, and that were he able to read it he would not really be able to understand it, and it will be seen that the likelihood of his making a wise use of his freedom in this regard is very remote.

In considering the fairness of all sales of land from natives to white men, various considerations should be kept constantly in mind.

(1) *The date of the transaction.* The earlier the date the less likelihood there is of the native vendor really having understood the transaction. Practically all these transactions took place in pidgin-English on the part of the white purchaser, and either in pidgin-English direct on the part of the native vendor, or through the medium of a native interpreter speaking pidgin-English to the purchaser and the native language of the

vendor. It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at fair results by such imperfect methods, and the fact that they were the only ones available at the time does not effect the conclusion.

(2) *The number of vendor signatures.* Generally speaking, the fewer the signatures the less likely the document is to be a genuine expression of the real owners' will. It must be remembered that in most places in the Pacific land is held in common ownership, and that for its legal sale the consent of *all* the co-owners is necessary. And it must also be remembered, especially in old documents, that the native population a generation ago was infinitely larger than it is to-day, and that, therefore, land which is now unoccupied was then in all probability held and cultivated. Even in cases where land was held by individuals alone, in the vast majority of cases the area held by individuals would be under an acre in extent. Documents purporting to transfer square miles of country, and signed by only one or two individuals, are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, simply fraudulent.

(3) *The area of land expressed to be conveyed, and the descriptions of boundaries.* Usually these are of the vaguest, and it is clear that they represent a mere guess on the part of the purchaser. Unless there has been a proper survey with marked points (either trees, concrete corner marks, or clearly defined and unchangeable natural features), such descriptions and areas are quite

valueless. Such a document only proves that *some* land has been sold, but it gives no clue, apart from general locality, as to boundaries or area.

(4) *The consideration.* This particular element, which in contracts between white men is all-important, is, oddly enough, perhaps the element of least importance in the weighing of the value of a sale from a native to a non-native. The native, especially in old times, has practically no conception of value. He is more attracted by a musket than by money. He would sell a hundred acres or a thousand for a bottle of grog, just as willingly as he would sell half an acre for the same thing. His mind cannot grasp quantities. It cannot see the difference between a hundred and a thousand. Both are to him merely a largish number. This trait is clearly seen by a study of native languages. It is true that we have now reduced native notation in Melanesia and Polynesia to the equivalent of our own European notation. And by our efforts in this direction the native mind is gradually gaining in clearness and precision. But originally it was involved in a vagueness that it is almost impossible for us to understand. We can perhaps gain a clearer idea ourselves of this vagueness by remarking the difficulty a native has in regard to colours. To him the world is either light or dark. There is no question of colour-blindness in our sense of the term, that is a physical defect in the

refraction of the optical lens of the eye which makes, say, green and red seem alike. It is the primitive brain which has not yet learned to subdivide things up to the same extent that the civilized brain has. In the same way with numbers. The extreme is to be found not in the Pacific, but with the Australian aborigine who cannot count further than four. The Melanesian can count up to ten, though generally he uses a quinary system to get as far as that. Higher numbers can be expressed by us and by them by analogy, but to all except the educated native the higher numbers are useless. In Mota we interpret "melnol" by a hundred and "tar" by a thousand, and no doubt now the average Mota speaker realizes roughly the difference between the two. But his idea is still vague, much as our ideas are vague in higher numbers, like billions and trillions. Indeed, some authorities go further and say that to the primitive and uneducated native mind there is little realization even in Melanesia as to the difference between, say, six and seven, or between eight and nine.

This vagueness, which though hard to understand is yet an established fact, must be taken into consideration when legal documents with figures in them are concerned. An uneducated native is just as likely to sell a thousand acres for a pound as he is to sell one acre for a thousand pounds. He does not understand; that is all. And it is the basis of all contracts that both

parties should fully understand. It follows that the only fair way of buying land from natives is to buy it in small blocks, separately. And it follows also that the consideration in a transfer is of no value in estimating the native side of the transaction, though its inadequacy may throw a light on the *bona fides* of the white purchaser.

It is because the average white purchaser of native lands is in ignorance of these things, and also because the average official in the Pacific is similarly ignorant, and because the native has not acquired sufficient intelligence to be able to conceive, still less to explain his mental limitations, that the white settler has been able to exploit the native and acquire enormous land claims in the Groups where the second system prevails. And the conclusion imposes itself that we must go beneath the surface of things, for the present at any rate, and agree that the first system, though apparently less just, is in reality more just. All really depends on the object to be attained. Provided this be the ultimate benefit and development of the Kanaka race, that is to say, provided the Administration does not claim waste land merely for its own benefit, or merely for the benefit of white immigrants, but with a view to conserving it principally for the future benefit of the Kanaka, then I say the proper policy is that represented by the first system. Let the Administration take and hold the eminent domain until such time as the in-

creasing numbers of the natives combined with their increasing civilization and the needs flowing therefrom, shall render it expedient to give it back to the original owners. Such a policy, as will be seen hereafter, need not and should not prevent the Administration from developing white settlement side by side with the native population. But the amount of land to be subtracted from the total area of waste lands for this purpose would be only a small fraction of the whole.

The whole question must be viewed calmly and dispassionately. There need be, there should be no attempt or intention of favouring either the white or the brown race. It is necessary that both should be present in these islands, and that both, side by side, should develop them according to their respective abilities. The white race will then take its part in the education of the Kanaka till he reaches a higher civilization, and the Kanaka will in return render service to the white race, and so not merely provide a livelihood and home for some of the more crowded European countries, but help to contribute to the food-supplies of the world. This is the ideal end, and all our efforts should be bent to a discovery of how it is to be attained.

It is clear that if all surplus lands are to be filled up with European settlers, or if they are allowed to become the sport of speculators who will hold on to them in the hope of reaping a profit from their slowly increasing value, it will

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be a mere sowing of a crop of future difficulties. It will mean the creation of vested interests, that obstacle which has proved so fatal to progress in Europe and in the world generally. It will mean also an enormous demand for labour, which will destroy native village life, which is the essence of Kanaka existence. Eventually the Kanaka will disappear, and our ideal will have failed. On the other hand it is equally useless to prevent all white immigration and hold vacant lands vacant in the hope that Kanakas will educate themselves, as it were, by instinct. The Kanaka needs the white man as an educator, and he is quite prepared to make it worth the white man's while to do so. Moreover, it is not right that large tracts of land should remain vacant and unused in the islands when it is remembered that it is only in these and similar islands, and on low-lying ground near the sea and fringing the Equator that coconuts can be produced—coconuts which are of such urgent necessity for other races. The Kanaka will never rise in the scale of civilization by himself. He must have contact with a higher civilization in all its varied aspects. Missionary enterprise is not enough. It is good as a beginning, but something more is needed to make the race progressive, vigorous, and self-reliant. It needs the trader and the planter, especially the trader.

These various considerations seem to point to an inevitable solution, and that is the restriction

of white immigrants. Such a policy could only be brought about by deliberate intent on the part of the Government. A policy of *laissez-faire* must result in one of the two extremes; either that the white immigrant and speculator will absorb the bulk of the land to the detriment of the development of the native race (and this is the more probable), or that the natives as they gain in experience will deliberately hold their surplus lands vacant so as to prevent the white man creeping in.

An example of the latter may be found in Fiji. There, where the native population is slowly but surely decreasing (for reasons which will be explained elsewhere), the Crown, though at first claiming the eminent domain over vacant lands under the Deed of Cession, subsequently acquiesced in the view that it lay in the natives themselves. The Fijians are, speaking generally, more advanced in business understanding than their brother Kanakas in more western Groups of Melanesia. As they have been left pretty much to themselves to work out their own development, having as tutors the Missions almost alone (for the Government has done little for them in the way of education), they have as yet failed to grasp the necessity for, or the methods to secure expansion of their race. It is hardly wonderful, therefore, that they see no necessity for combining with the whites to that end. They prefer, therefore, to keep their lands and to keep the white

man out. The beneficial effects of labour do not appeal to them, as they have never been sufficiently educated to comprehend them, and so they are gradually dying out. Decreasing population, and this apathy, have produced a shortage of labour sufficient to embarrass even those comparatively few white settlers who have obtained a footing, and this was met first by importation of other Kanaka labour from the western Groups (but this has now been stopped as those western Groups were themselves short of labour for similar reasons) and then by importation of Indians from India. This latter resource has now also been checked, as the Indian Government is dissatisfied with the conditions and results of the indentured labour system. The position of the European planter in Fiji to-day is, therefore, not a very enviable one when he looks to the future. He sees on the one hand little hope of obtaining assistance from the Fijians themselves, while the misuse of the indentured labour system (thanks to his own short-sightedness and that of the Fiji Government) is to be put to an end. The situation is further complicated by the fact that a large percentage of the Indians on the termination of their indentures contrive to remain in the country, and in doing so take up a considerable portion of the land open to others than Fijians, thereby, while refusing themselves to enter the labour market, still further cramping the European. Opinions may differ as to the

final solution of the Indian part of Fiji's future, but surely the only true solution as regards the European and the Fijian lies in the systematic education of the latter with a view to the civilization and expansion of the race, and in a limitation of the numbers and a careful selection of type of the former, so that the two may intentionally and intelligently work together for their mutual benefit.

Entry into and settlement in the various Pacific Groups is free to all Europeans. It may be said, no doubt, that it requires men of energy and enterprise to wander so far afield from the big cities and the luxuries of civilization, and it is argued speciously that men of such a stamp must be of value. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Much of the riff-raff of civilization is also to be found amongst the "beach-combers" of the Pacific, men who, having been failures everywhere else, have gradually been edged out of more settled communities, and who find not only a laxer administration which leaves them alone, but the gratifying opportunity of being Masters over a weaker race. The sudden transition from being beggars and servants to a position of authority only too often leads to abuses. It is natural enough, but it is fatal to the native race. If we are to develop the native race we must give it of our best, not of our worst. We must give it of our best not merely in officials and missionaries, but in our traders and planters

also. The white man who comes to the islands merely to make a living for himself, and with no idea of doing something to benefit the native races, has no business to be there at all, whatever his ostensible profession may be. No man should be allowed to settle in the Pacific in any capacity unless he has one basic qualification, and that is a genuine and instinctive like for, and sympathy with, natives. This is a quality which a man has or has not. It is born with him, and is not a matter for pride or eulogium in possession or censure in deficiency. A very large percentage of settlers, officials, and even missionaries at the present day frankly dislike natives. They despise them as an inferior race good only for menial tasks. Such men should not be there.

Not all white men in the Pacific are, of course, of so low a type as the *libéré* of New Caledonia who flourishes in the New Hebrides. Many of the men to whom I refer are harmless enough in themselves, though the easy life of authority tends to spoil them. But kind and hospitable though they may be, they are too frequently of the lower strata of civilization, and being unable to understand the rôle they should play in primitive countries, and being, therefore, unable and inadequate to play it, are quite unfitted to be the educators of the Kanaka race. It is only just now in England that we are beginning to realize the supreme importance of good and selected teachers. We have now to realize that

what is of supreme importance in England is at least of equal importance in the South Seas.

Indeed the principle is reasonable enough, nor is it really a new one. It is the principle we have applied in part at any rate in India. There we have given our best men, and in order to attract our best men to an unhealthy climate and hard life, we have paid them attractive salaries. The Covenanted Civil Service is the result, and that Service is undoubtedly the premier Civil Service in the world both in its personnel and its results. But in our Crown Colonies and smaller Dependencies, such as Protectorates in the Pacific, we have our Colonial Service which is run on very different lines. We pay smaller, much smaller salaries, and in consequence get an inferior class of man. This naturally leads to a multiplication of officials. The net result in cost is much the same. One first-rate man paid £1500 a year will do more and far better work than half a dozen inferior ones at £250. And it is usually forgotten that if it is a costly business to secure the right stamp of man for India where the country is sufficiently developed to offer some of the ameliorations of civilization, it would be more costly still to secure them for the more distant and savage Pacific. And this principle which applies to the selection of officials, applies equally to that of missionaries and to that of ordinary settlers. It is not reasonable to expect to get the best type of missionary unless he is provided with a salary

sufficient to set his mind permanently at ease in regard to his means of livelihood. If a missionary's health breaks down, as he has in most cases no other prospect of earning his livelihood elsewhere, he should know he has an adequate pension to keep him in some better climate in his declining years. Such knowledge would often preserve his health and keep him fit for longer years of service just at the time when his knowledge of the Pacific renders him particularly valuable. Ordinarily settlers have no official salaries—their remuneration depends on their skill and energy in trading and planting. Picked men freed from the competition of the common beach-comber would have a better chance of doing well, and the fact that they did do well would attract a better class of men to aspire to become settlers.

Hence it appears that a restriction of the number of officials, missionaries, and settlers—that is to say of white immigration generally—would be of advantage to all parties concerned, including the natives.

The advantages of such a policy are even more apparent in Groups like the New Hebrides, where the bulk of the land has fallen into the hands of white speculators who cannot use the land themselves owing to deficiency of labour, or who will not use it because it is merely their aim to resell at a profit, and who restrict the natives into small and often quite insufficient areas, insufficient not merely for expansion, but even for maintain-

ing the present population. If such restriction of white immigration were to be the defined policy of the Government, the potential value of the land would experience an instant set-back, and the endeavours of such speculators would be automatically defeated to the great advantage of the natives. And this result might be accelerated by imposing taxes on undeveloped lands and unearned increment. For it cannot be too often repeated that the future of the Kanaka race depends on its development and expansion on normal racial lines, and not on converting all of them into plantation labourers. It would also, I repeat, be to the advantage of the white race too, taken as a whole : for these islands can only be made full use of with the aid of the Kanaka. It is useless to allow the Kanaka to perish and then to substitute Oriental labour in his place. Under the indentured labour system, where each new batch of labour is used up and then thrown aside when useless, a constant series of new batches is required to take the place of the preceding ones. Many die in the process, and many others become physical wrecks. This may enrich the individual white planter temporarily, but it will never build up a thriving and permanent colony. Moreover the time comes inevitably when the source of Oriental labour runs dry. This has already occurred in regard to the drawing of Indians to the Fiji sugar plantations. The Indian Government naturally refuses to allow its subjects to be per-

manently lost to it. The fact that a proportion returns to India with a small sum of money saved does not compensate India for those that die, those that are broken, or those who settle in Fiji. Nor is it an advantage to the average white planter—rather it is a disadvantage—to have an independent Indian community settled in Fiji, not as labourers on their plantations, but running in competition with them. And when the supplies of Oriental labour from India, the Dutch East Indies, China and Japan, do finally run dry, the white settler in the Pacific will be left alone with his land, which will then return to its primeval forest. And the net result will be that as it is quite impossible to work the land with white labour, European colonization will have destroyed the Kanaka race for nothing and will then itself perish.

The determination of the proper proportion which it would be best to maintain in any Group, or single island, between whites and natives is, of course, a matter which can only be settled in the light of local considerations. It is quite impossible to lay down a percentage, say one white to every five hundred natives, to be applicable to every place in the Pacific. A careful consideration of the possibilities of the land, of the climate, of the numbers, type, and groupment of the natives in any district is first necessary. In most cases, no doubt, it would be advisable to start with a comparatively small number of whites, and then increase their numbers in ratio to the

needs and development of the local native population. This would involve leaving large areas unoccupied for many years to come, but there would in this case be the prospect and hope of filling them up gradually. Under the present system there is really no hope at all, but there is a very certain fear that if it be continued indefinitely it will lead to the total disappearance both of white and Kanaka until some future race takes them in hand and deals with them on logical lines.

III. THE ISLAND OF TANNA IN THE NEW HEBRIDES

Let us consider in some detail the present condition of one island which for various reasons, geographical and other, has remained somewhat isolated from its neighbours, and where this principle of the restriction of white immigration has prevailed in fact, though it has not been consciously applied. If we can discover there that certain and definite advantages have accrued to the native and white races, advantages in part at least attributable to the existence of this principle, then the suggestion that what has there prevailed naturally could be induced artificially elsewhere will receive considerable support. I refer to the island of Tanna, one of the southern islands in the New Hebrides Group.

Tanna, which long enjoyed (and deserved) the reputation in missionary circles of being one of

the most heathen and savage spots in the Pacific, is a medium-sized island, roughly twenty miles from north to south and fifteen miles from east to west. It has at the present time a population of some six thousand natives, and is one of the few islands in this Group where the population now holds its own. There are, of course, no statistics to enable one to compute the probable population a generation ago, but it is quite certain that it has greatly diminished from what it was. Local residents, speaking from personal knowledge, assert that the whole of the Black Beach area on the north of the island was once densely populated. Nowadays there is a mere sprinkling of natives thereon. Even the western side of Lenakel is but comparatively thinly populated, the main population being centred on the eastern side from Waesisi running south to White Sands. The reasons for the former decay in population are, as usual, not far to seek. The usual causes—indiscriminate liquor-selling and recruiting, licit and illicit, disease, and intertribal fighting each played its part. And there was and still is to a certain extent the further and rather special cause of kava-drinking, which there, at any rate, has had a very bad effect. But while the reason the decay of population has now been arrested is, as one might suspect, a mitigation which has come about in these evils (combined with special good fortune in the type of mission work that has been done on the island, as will

be seen hereafter), it is to be noted that this mitigation has not come about from any special energy on the part of the Government, but from the geographical position of the island.

Undoubtedly its geographical situation has been the salvation of Tanna in the past, and is likely to be so in the future. Unlike the northern islands of the Group which lie so close together and which are so amply provided with good harbours, and which are, therefore, easily accessible to the small recruiting vessels which are all that comparatively poor settlers can afford, Tanna stands well out alone in the ocean and has no harbours or even good anchorages. The nearest island is Erromango, forty-five miles to the north, and between them is one of the worst stretches of water in the Group. Then from Erromango to Efate, whereon is situated the capital, Vila, the headquarters of most of the recruiting vessels, is a wide stretch of eighty miles of sea, a distance which necessitates a certain knowledge of navigation, or a certain amount of good luck to cross successfully. Moreover, to go from Vila to Tanna means a dead beat of 125 miles in the teeth of the trade wind. The result is that few indeed of the smaller recruiting vessels have stomach for the difficulties and dangers of the trip, and only larger vessels make the expedition. There are few of these larger vessels, and consequently recruiting has, of recent years, dropped off considerably. In the old days, on the other

hand, the recruiting was not from Vila for island use, but from Australia and New Caledonia for the sugar plantations of the former and the mines of the latter. Larger vessels capable of deep-sea voyages were therefore used, but since the deportation of Kanakas from Queensland and the employment of white labour on the sugar plantations there and the prohibition of the entry of coloured labour into the Commonwealth, and since the commencement of the employment of Javanese and Japanese labour in New Caledonia, few overseas vessels go there. Any overseas vessels from New Caledonia have now a further difficulty to contend with, in that Vila being the only port of entry and clearance in the Group, they have to go there first and then return there again before final clearing, a matter serious in delay and additional in expense to sailing-vessels. Recruiting on this island, too, in the older days was easier than it is now or ever will be again for another reason, and this is especially true in the case of larger vessels which alone dare risk the trip to Tanna. Up to 1878 Tanna had a harbour, and a very fine one, in Port Resolution. But in that year a great earthquake raised the bottom of the harbour some seventy feet, so that now, though to sight a fine and land-locked stretch of water, it is difficult to sail on it at low water save in a canoe, while even at high water a boat of any size can only lie off its mouth. Moreover, every year sees an additional silting up of the entrance with sand.

This check to recruiting has also diminished the quantity of disease imported, a matter for sincere thankfulness. But that alone has not and will not check the spreading of disease already imported. There is, of course, no Government medical service on the island, though a faint intimation that the British Government is beginning to recognize its responsibilities in the matter may be discerned in a small grant given during the past two or three years to the Presbyterian Hospital at Lenakel. Consequently disease, especially venereal disease, can still spread practically unchecked. It is, however, a notable fact that under missionary medical guidance the Tannese are themselves beginning to realize the necessity for concerted action in this regard, and a first step was made by the voluntary founding of a leper segregation camp. This camp is purely voluntary, and the unhappy victims of the disease cannot be compelled to keep bounds. But for the most part they do--voluntarily. It is lamentable to relate that such initiative on the part of Kanakas is viewed with more jealousy than sympathy by the central Administration, which coldly neglects to give a legal status to the scheme. Lepers are not indeed numerous in the Group, but still they may be found in various of the islands, and their presence and the advisability of a segregation camp has several times been represented to the Government. But the audacity of such uncalled-for suggestions by

private individuals is usually fatal to their adoption. And the present administration sees no harm in returning lepers and letting them loose on the various islands. It should be added that though it is well known that many Tanna women who return from New Caledonia have been used there as prostitutes and who return suffering from venereal diseases, no attempt is made by the Government to examine them or cure them. They are simply allowed to spread the disease. Still the proposition that the reduction in recruiting has diminished the quantity of disease remains broadly true.

The sale of intoxicants has also diminished from the same cause, viz. the smaller number of boats visiting the island. And kava-drinking too has diminished, though the reason for this is a different one, the influence of the missionaries. Kava may be called the drink of the Pacific, and a few words in its regard may not be amiss, all the more so as its harmlessness, or otherwise, is much disputed amongst the different missions. The Presbyterians of the New Hebrides, for instance, set their faces firmly against its use, and even make the abandonment of its use one of the indispensable preliminaries for Church membership. The Wesleyans of Fiji, on the other hand, not only permit their flocks to drink it, but would even be prepared to drink it themselves if they could reconcile themselves to its taste. And the kava-drinkers, white and native, scoff humorously at the narrow-mindedness of its opponents. But

the fact is that there is a great difference between kava-drinking in different places. Kava is a root which is pounded up in water, strained, and the fluid then drunk. The original native method of its preparation in Fiji was by chewing instead of pounding, but this has now been prohibited by Ordinance. In Tanna chewing by small boys is still the regular method, and old habitués assert that the best drink is furnished if the chewer be a sufferer from tuberculosis. In the absence of similar Government prohibition in regard to such a disgusting practice, it is surely small wonder that the Presbyterian missionaries have taken the stand they have. The effect of kava, it should be added, is different to that of alcohol. Intoxication does not follow. The brain remains clear, but the legs are affected with a temporary lethargy or paralysis, and finally, at the end of a heavy bout, insensibility supervenes. This, indeed, seems to be the object of the Tanna heavy kava-drinker—to provoke insensibility.

No doubt, taken in a hygienic way, and in moderation, kava-drinking is harmless enough. But the Kanaka in his pleasures knows little of moderation and, indeed, in this respect he is not unlike some of his white brethren. All such habits, be they kava-drinking, alcohol, tobacco, betel-nut chewing, opium or snuff, are disastrous when indulged in to excess. And the attitude of the Presbyterian missionaries in regard to kava-drinking may not unfairly be compared with

that of total prohibitionists in regard to alcohol. Recognizing the frailty of human nature and its proneness to excess, it is argued that where a thing is susceptible of abuse it is wiser to eliminate even its use. The flaw in the argument is that everything in the world is susceptible of abuse, and that where one outlet is closed another will be chosen. It seems inherent in human nature to demand abuse of nature in some direction. Three centuries ago China was the most drunken country in the world, and directly the use of alcohol was prohibited and stamped out, opium came in and took its place. Similarly, tobacco, which has eliminated snuff, and is perhaps reducing the consumption of alcohol with us, will in due course have to be dealt with firmly. But no doubt its reign will be succeeded by something else. Thus the absolute suppression of one habit or vice seems automatically to lead to the birth of a new and different one. It would seem to be a reasonable conclusion that the remedy and the thing to be desired is not the absolute prohibition of such things, but an endeavour to secure the moderate enjoyment of things not evil in themselves: and this can only be done by education.

I think this would be a fair way to deal generally with the liquor problem in the Pacific. It is the settled British policy to prohibit the use of alcohol by natives in the Pacific. It was recognized that its effects were most prejudicial on the Kanaka race. But the policy has largely failed, especially

in the New Hebrides, by the fact that the law is openly evaded. In one case tried before the Joint Court of that Group a man was fined a total of £2 for several distinct breaches of the law in this regard. He had the boldness to write to the Court and inform it that he had been selling liquor systematically for over ten months. And outside the Court he openly boasted that he had cleared £500 by the traffic. Laws enforced in this kind of way become a local joke, and it were better not to pretend to have or enforce them at all. The essence of the harm that alcohol does to natives, however, does not lie so much in the mere giving of stimulant, as in the supply of cheap spirits. If decent liquor were provided its use might be beneficial. Decent liquor would cost a higher price, and natives would then only be able to afford it in cases of necessity. But it goes without saying that no principle or law can be of any use unless it is enforced by the Administration.

Inter-tribal fighting on Tanna has now completely disappeared, and in a country in which twenty years ago a native would not dare to wander away from his village or even to go to his garden unless in company and armed, now all, white and native alike, may wander in safety all over the island. This result is variously attributed to missionary influence, to the repressive influence of ships of war, and to the civilizing effect of half a dozen white traders. These various claims are discussed elsewhere.

Last but not least—doubtless owing to this fact of comparative geographical isolation—there have never been more than half a dozen or so white planters and traders on the island at any one time. And it is worthy of notice that in nearly every instance they have been British subjects. They have nearly all been able to make a fair living, and there has therefore been little temptation for them to depart from legitimate trade. Being decent folk to start with, favouring circumstances have made it relatively easy for them to remain decent. And they have, therefore, unconsciously though it may be, acted to a certain extent as educators of the natives in the better ways of white men. They have set an example of decent living, and by their trading have taught the natives the elements of commerce. And thereby they are stimulating the natives to adventure on schemes of their own, and there is still sufficient margin in the productiveness of the island to permit them to do this without seriously damaging the position of the present traders. The story of their present venture in shipping copra to Vila in a large schooner of their own is told elsewhere. No doubt the effect of this venture has been to reduce temporarily the profits of the local traders, but this difficulty is, or should be, only a temporary one. It can be got over by a further process of education, by teaching the natives to produce more, to gather up more methodically what they have already,

and to value the presence of white men on the island. There is too great a tendency to regard one another as competitors. The native race is not yet sufficiently balanced to stand competition. A friendly though informal partnership is their present need. But they want to be educated up to this point of view before it will become practicable.

I think it is clear from the above facts that the settlers of Tanna are justly entitled to a share in the credit for the present state of affairs. And, though it may be said that the progress of Tanna is only just beginning, still it is beginning, and it were well if all other islands were as far advanced. We cannot endow all other islands with Tanna's geographical advantages of situation, but we could by a conscious policy arrange for them to have artificially by process of law a similar internal situation. We could suppress elsewhere the liquor and arms traffic, illegal recruiting, and the spread of disease by *enforcing* laws against such things. And we could restrict white immigrants. All these things combine together to one end. They are not only educatory in themselves, but they provide a suitable *milieu* and atmosphere for more advanced education. And it is only by means of continued and persistent education that our ideal can be attained.

It has already been partly explained how such a policy as that of the restriction of white immigrants could be put into practice. The mere

inauguration of such a policy would of itself tend to render nugatory the efforts of existing speculators to make a corner in land. The imposition of taxes on undeveloped land would accelerate its sale to the Government at a reasonable price. And any other then existing and unnecessary vested interests could be got rid of by purchase by the Government, and by the sequestration of vacant lands unclaimed by white men and at present unused by natives. No doubt a certain amount of blackmail would have to be paid in some cases, but the amount would be comparatively small, and even though it were large it would be worth while to pay it if we are sure that that is the only radical way in which we can hope to save the native races, and to give them a sufficiency of time in which to educate themselves up to a standard sufficient to compete on equal terms with Europeans.

IV. THE LABOUR QUESTION IN THE PACIFIC

I think, then, that the only land policy that is likely to lead to our ultimate purpose, is for the Administration to hold the surplus unoccupied lands of the Pacific as trustee primarily for the native races and secondarily for the white races, and that that policy can only be carried into effect by a judicious restriction of white immigrants. This suggested restriction would also go a

long way to solve the labour problem which must now engage our attention.

We are not now concerned with the old recruiting for the Queensland sugar plantations (for that has now ceased), beyond remembering the fact that it was one of the incidental factors which contributed to the decay of the native races. Recruiting of native labourers for plantation work is now confined to recruiting in each Group for the needs of the Group itself. In Fiji, indeed, it may be said that even such recruiting has automatically expired owing to the prosperity of the natives, who can obtain any money they need by selling off some of their surplus lands. The same is true of Hawaii, while in the Marquesas there is practically no native population left to recruit from. Fiji fell back on Indian immigration, but that is now stopped, while New Caledonia relies on Javanese and Japanese. The Groups where recruiting still flourishes are the New Hebrides, the Solomons and Papua.

We have remarked before that in these Groups, where there is a very small white population, the chief interest of the white man lies in planting, and that trading is only subsidiary. The average white man only thinks of one thing, and that is how he is to get labour for his plantation. He is not physically fitted to do the heavy work of clearing bush and planting coconuts himself, and so he requires native labour. In considering his situation we must not forget the geographical

nature of the islands. They are islands and not continents. It is usually found unsatisfactory to employ the natives of the particular island a planter is on, as, though they are good workers for a short period, their nature prompts them only to spasmodic effort and they suffer from the nostalgia of their village life which becomes harder to bear the nearer they are to their homes. For this reason the planter prefers natives from other islands. To get them he has two courses open to him. He can either get a boat of his own and go to the other islands and endeavour to induce natives to engage, or he can employ some one else to do it for him. Such an employee is known as a "professional recruiter." The first method is the one usually adopted. Both are expensive. The first involves the purchase or charter of a cutter and the expense of a voyage which often lasts three or four months. If the would-be employer is lucky in finding recruits quickly and in plenty, all is well. But if he should fail he is heavily out of pocket. In fact, it is a gamble. By the second method the would-be employer pays the professional recruiter so much a head per recruit. The present price paid for a three-years "boy" is about £20. This system is also a gamble, but it is the professional recruiter who takes most of the risks.

It will easily be understood that the reason why an employer seeks to bind natives to work for a fixed time (up to the legal maximum of three

years) is because labour is scarce, because he must recruit to get any at all, and because he cannot afford to go to the expense of recruiting if his recruits are to be at liberty to leave him the next day. And so in spite of the fact that the system leaves a wide door open to irregularities (the usual baits being alcohol and women) it cannot be denied that from the point of view of the white employer under the present scheme of running the islands, the case for the establishment and continuance of the indentured labour system is simply unanswerable. It must be ; there is no other way. It is, of course, possible to reform abuses by making laws against them and enforcing them, or by the undertaking of all recruiting by the Government itself. This latter method has much to commend it, but whatever the method by which it is applied the loopholes for dishonesty are obvious. The Government cannot put a special agent on every tiny cutter to see fair play—the expense of doing so would be prohibitive. And experience has shown in the old Queensland recruiting days that irregularities may take place even with a Government Agent on board. Moreover, even after recruiting has taken place and the labourers are drafted on to the plantations we must realize that, as the Groups consist of many different islands, with the settlers scattered over each, miles apart from one another, the supervision and inspection of plantations and labourers is impossible or at least very difficult,

Of course we find in all the Groups a multitude of laws and regulations regulating the relations between employers and employees in the minutest particulars, but there is little hope of enforcing them. Consequently the employer can do pretty much what he likes, and the native does what he is made to do. The results are seen from the high death-rate on plantations.

The system is seen at its worst on the French plantations in the New Hebrides. It would be difficult to enumerate *all* the abuses of which it is capable, but the following will give some idea. It is perfectly easy to kidnap a native, to cheat one who has promised to work for, say six months, by entering him as having engaged for three years, to overwork him, to refuse to pay him, or to pay him in goods instead of in money, to beat him, to starve him, to neglect to give him medical attention, to lengthen his period of engagement by adding on extra days for imaginary sicknesses, for Sundays and holidays, and finally to trap him into a re-engagement by refusing to repatriate him (and leaving him to starve), or by offering him a bribe which usually takes the form of the offer of a woman as his concubine. He has no opportunity of complaint. Usually he is on some other island than that on which the capital stands. He cannot reach the Government, and the Government makes little effort to reach him, as there is practically no inspection of plantations by labour inspectors. Very often his engagement

is not reported to the Government at all. Should by any extraordinary chance a representative of the Government appear on a plantation, the native is either out working, and so unavailable, or else he can be cowed by threats of punishment if he dare to make any complaint. And, even if these devices failed, the native would be practically unable to complain, as no official in the New Hebrides speaks any native language and few French officials can speak even pidgin-English. And if the native complains to any other than to a French official he is usually punished for being "absent without leave"; while if he complains to a representative of the French Government he is usually punished for telling false tales against his Master. For a French official is constitutionally incapable of admitting, or even of realizing, that a Frenchman may tell a lie or that a native may speak the truth.

The average life of a native on a French plantation, even at its best, is a wretched thing. They start work at daybreak and continue till sunset. The house servants work till late at night. They have nothing to do but their work. There is no relaxation. They have no gardens of their own to amuse them. They are away from the influence of missions and schools. They go about clad in dirty rags, and are crowded, irrespective of island of origin, into dirty grass houses. Their food is the minimum on which life can be maintained, and is usually not native but our food, such as

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rice, sugar, tea, hard biscuits and very occasionally tinned meat. The native in his village life in old time had to lead a moral life. His chief saw to that. Nowadays when the authority of the chief has been weakened by the Government, village life and morals have become relaxed, and the process has been facilitated by the life on plantations where immorality is often deliberately fostered by the French owner, whose theory is that a labourer is more likely to be contented if he has a temporary "wife." There is nothing ennobling or elevating about plantation life, there is much that is degrading and abasing, and the apparent powerlessness of the Government to improve a state of affairs which is perfectly well known to it, and which has been going on for years, makes it a conniver in the system. I can find no words strong enough to brand the wickedness of the perpetrators of this system, and their official protectors in the New Hebrides and at home. Fortunately, the British plantations in that Group are run on better lines, but that that is so is chiefly due to the type of British settler who lives there. The British Government does little beyond laying down verbose regulations which no one reads. There is practically no inspection of plantations any more than there is on the French side, and if British settlers chose to do so they could commit as many abuses as the French without danger of detection or punishment if detected.

It is only in Papua that we find the Government itself seeing that its regulations are observed.

It is obvious that the more the white immigrants that come into these Groups now, the more acute the labour problem will be, and the worse the effect on the total remaining population. There are only three possible solutions of the problem. The first is to restrict white immigration and so endeavour to expand the Kanaka population. The second would be to introduce Oriental indentured labour ; and the third to do the same as has been done in Fiji, to introduce Oriental indentured labour of which a percentage would remain in the country as settlers on the soil after the expiration of their indentures. We may discard the second possibility at once. It is possible, no doubt, at present to obtain temporary supplies of Oriental labour, but it is only a deferring of the solution of the problem, and leads to no permanent and satisfactory basis for the establishment of the future of the islands. For directly—as in the case of Fiji and its Indians—the source of supply is cut off, the old problem reappears in a more acute form than ever. The third possibility, that of introducing, say, Indians to share these Groups with the Kanaka, requires consideration.

It is perhaps a little early to speak yet with assurance, but it would seem that the climate of the South Seas is suitable to East Indians. They are able to make a living out of small holdings,

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and though from one point of view they compete with the white man, from another they assist him by selling him their surplus crops of sugar-cane, etc. Thus they occupy profitably lands which would otherwise probably remain unused for many years to come. Moreover, they are an expanding race. They do not intermarry in Fiji with the Fijians, so there is no danger of a bastard or half-caste race being evolved. Appearances, therefore, would seem to point to the possibility of replacing the Kanaka by the East Indian as a permanent dweller in the Pacific. The question is, should we aim at doing so? Be it remarked that as far as the monetary interests of the individual white man are concerned, it would make very little difference one way or the other. As long as the islands are developed by *some* race it matters little to their pockets by whom they are developed. And possibly quicker returns would come to the world at large from Indians than from Kanakas, for the former know the value of work, while the latter have yet to learn it. The white man would in any case still retain the only rôle he can play in a tropical climate, that of master and overseer and educator. The choice is probably an exclusive one. If we introduce Indians as settlers we are probably signing the death-warrant of the Kanaka, for the Indian is himself a subject race, and cannot possibly, when he himself stands in need of education, hope to play the part of educator to another

subject race. And the Kanaka's only chance of survival is through education.

All these considerations fail to shake my belief that we ought to reject this third possibility. If we once admit that the world is to be run on purely opportunist principles, that one race being stronger or wiser than another can and should stamp it out and take its place, then we might justify the replacing of the Kanaka by the Indian. But that is a doctrine which on August 4, 1914, we English definitely and for all time repudiated. It is the doctrine of the German. We realize humbly that though there may be some races which seem to us so low in the scale of humanity that they are not worth preserving, we, with our imperfect knowledge, are poor judges of the wisdom of the Almighty who put them where they are. And poor, primitive, and feeble as the Kanaka race may be, yet those who seek for good even in the most lowly of God's creations may perhaps, if we seek with a heart divorced from pride and earthly wisdom, learn lessons even from the Kanaka in honesty, good temper, and simplicity. These are qualities with which the white races are often not too richly endowed. I think, therefore, that the suggested policy of restricting white immigrants holds true both in the matter of land and labour, and that it is an essential preliminary of that reorganization of the Pacific which must take place if we are to save the Kanaka race from extinction. It is the policy which is

needed to, and which can alone create, the conditions in which education can succeed.

V. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE PACIFIC

Our imaginary Governor or other official must not, however, confine his attentions exclusively to these matters of land and labour, important as they are. He has other and equally fundamental tasks to achieve if he is to succeed in establishing a well-ordered community. And of these we must place the matters of the administration of justice and of the establishment of education in the van. We have already referred to the fault of failing to enforce laws—but that is only a small part of a large question. We must endeavour to envisage the principles on which both the framing of laws and the method of their enforcement should be based.

We have adopted as the theory on which we have worked so far the principle that we use ourselves in our own home countries, that of the equality of every one before the law, which is the same for every one. And this principle is undoubtedly the only right and just one. We have now passed out of the theories which bound the world in the days when slavery was recognized as a legal system. Then it was held that large sections of the community were removed from the ordinary law of the land. There were, in

fact, two laws—one for white men and one for coloured men. The theory was of course unjust, but it had at least one merit, that of honesty. At least every one, even the slave, knew exactly how he stood, and could to a certain extent make his conduct conform with the existing state of affairs. But since the abolition of legal slavery, in the same way as we have introduced an alternative system which maintains and even increases the old evils under the cloak of legality, so too we have silently introduced a new system of law and law-administration, which has the effect of producing two laws applicable, the one to whites and the other to natives, in just the same way as the old one did. We profess that there is but one law for both races, but in its application there are clearly two laws. And so, through less honesty, we render the position of the coloured man even less favourable than it was before. For as long as the theory that there is but one law is openly professed, the public cannot understand how it can be asserted and maintained that there are in fact two laws.

But first we must clear our minds of any elements that might lead to confusion. It is true that the indentured labour system places the native recruit under a special branch of law for a certain time, and renders him liable to restriction of liberty and to punishment if he tries to withdraw from his obligations. But in principle this may be compared with positions in which the

white man finds himself at times in his own country. It is true that personal contracts of service cannot be enforced usually amongst ourselves, and that in cases of breach of contract the only remedy is by way of civil damages. But there are exceptions to this rule, as may be instanced both in the cases of the military and merchant services. Still, when we reflect, we shall see that such instances do not really violate the principle of the unity of the law, for the law remains applicable to all in the same way. In the cases of indentured labour and of the engagement of seamen in ships, the labourer or seaman voluntarily places himself under certain restrictions; in the case of military service he merely discharges his duty to the State in return for the advantages he receives as a member of the State.

But in countries where there is a coloured population living side by side with a white one, the case is different. There we find almost universally a tendency to construe the law in favour of the white and against the black.

It is very easy to argue that this tendency is necessary. We can say that the native is a savage and that he can only learn by sharp lessons, that in order to uphold public peace and protect the handful of whites living in the midst of a numerically superior native population and in order to establish the supremacy of the white race, we are bound to act with sternness and promptitude, and that it is only by so doing we

shall succeed in educating the native as to his duties in the new *régime* of civilization to which he is being introduced. We may point out that in particular the native has to be taught the sanctity of human life, especially of white men's lives, and that no measures can be hard enough to protect the honour of white women against assaults. On the other hand it is equally easy to find excuses for dealing leniently with the white man in these countries. He is far from home and often weakened by disease and fever, and cannot really be held responsible for all his actions. The sense of shame is keener in him, and a small fine is a greater punishment to him than penal servitude is to a native. And so forth.

All these propositions, reasonable enough as they seem at first sight, are arguable. It is certainly not true of the natives under mission influence that they are mere savages only awaiting their opportunity to resort to physical violence against the whites. Of all natives in the world the Kanaka is probably the mildest in disposition. In the past ten years in the New Hebrides I can only recall one case of unprovoked assault on white men, and that was by un-Christianized natives. Over and over again the Kanaka has proved his aptness and willingness to learn by the gentler methods of persuasion and explanation. I can recall no case in which a Kanaka in the New Hebrides has attempted an assault on

a white woman. The Kanaka population being so subdivided is very easily controlled by quiet methods. Long periods of imprisonment are, in fact, harder for the Kanaka, accustomed as he is to an entirely out-of-door life, to bear than for a white man from the merely physical point of view. Kanakas are just as capable of a sense of shame as we are, while the admission of such excuses as those of being in a far country or of being unwell as a reason for the non-punishment of crime is an exceedingly dangerous system to work on.

But even though it were impossible to dispute such propositions which are advanced in support of differential treatment being meted to the two races, still it would not make them right; for the fact remains that we profess to have one law for both, and if we make that law into two by applying it differently to white and black as the case may be, we are doing a dishonest action, and dishonesty never pays in the long run, for we only lower our own standard of morality thereby and make ourselves less capable and fit to be a ruling race; and we also confuse the native mind, which in time learns first to despise the quibble and injustice, and finally to imitate it. If such propositions were so intrinsically true that it were necessary for them, for us, and for justice' sake to take them into account, then we should have frankly to say that there must be two codes of law, one for them and one for us.

If we come to consider the matter dispas-

sionately we shall see that all such propositions are really an attempt to twist matters for our own advantage. We, the dominant and wiser race, should be capable of rising above such devices, and we should rather be attracted by the evident weakness of the natives to devise methods for their protection, even to our own disadvantage. The age of chivalry should not be allowed utterly to die out. We should be careful only to impose such of our laws on subject races as they are capable of understanding, and which suit their national characteristics. We should be ready to suspect misconception rather than deliberate evil-doing, and we should temper justice with mercy, and be careful to educate the Kanaka rather by example than by violence. If such a system were to be carried out fearlessly the Kanaka would soon respond, and would honour the white man and be encouraged to follow his ways.

Every one, however, who has had any experience of courts of law where native and white interests come into conflict knows quite well that it is as hard in a case of alleged murder to secure the acquittal of a native as it is to secure the conviction of a white man. The judges are always swayed, consciously or unconsciously, by considerations of the nature set forth above, and sometimes also by political considerations. In courts in tropical countries, the questions, who the defendant is and who the plaintiff, and what

the white public thinks of the case, have often a determining influence on the result of the trial. Facts are usually capable of being interpreted in different ways, and it is always easy to mistrust the word of a native, and always hard to doubt that of a white man. All who really know the Kanaka, however, are agreed on one point, and that is that when he has committed a definite act, such as the killing of a man, he is too simple-minded to be able to invent a story with supporting circumstances to shelter himself from responsibility. The Kanaka in this regard must be sharply differentiated from the Indian, who can invent lies and evidence, and can secure the support of all his friends to corroborate him. The Kanaka, both individually and racially, is quite incapable of doing this or even of thinking of doing it. This is a characteristic of the race which is usually ignored or denied. But it is true for all that.

This principle, then, the principle that there is only one law, and that that law should be applied equally without fear or favour to all, black and white alike, is the first principle that our Governor should bear in mind and demand of his judges and other officers. And there is another principle which he should observe also, one which like the first we apply to ourselves in our own countries, and which is both just and inevitable if satisfactory results are to be obtained. And that is that the law should be applied to the individual

and not to the community. The day has long since passed when in Europe penalties for crimes were exacted not so much from individuals as from their tribes. No doubt in very primitive communities the idea of tribal responsibility for the individual was a necessary step to progress to the higher idea of individual responsibility to which we have now attained. The idea is in full force at the present day in the Pacific amongst the Kanaka race, and is the explanation of many of the attacks of the more savage tribes on white men. The Kanaka tends to regard the individual not so much as an individual as a member of the white man's tribe. Consequently, in revenging himself for an injury done to him by a white man, he does not seek—as we should do—to do himself justice on the particular white man who has injured him. He is quite satisfied if he revenges himself on some other white man. It is difficult to take ourselves back to the stage of mental development in which he lives. But difficult as it is, we apparently find no difficulty in acting in the same way ourselves to the Kanaka when circumstances (often purely geographical) make it difficult to find the individual wanted. This mental atavistic flexibility of ours enables some of us to contemplate with equanimity the system of the punitive expedition which is so popular in some Groups of the Pacific, popular with all classes of the white community. The white man is satisfied if in lieu of catching a

murderer he sacks the tribal village from which he comes, and destroys a number of the villagers who probably had no connexion whatever with the crime. Again, it is in the New Hebrides, that unfortunate Group where all the evils of the South Seas seem to find their happiest hunting-ground, that we find this miserable practice in full vigour. An account of the last expedition of this nature which took place so recently as October 1916 will throw more light on the practice than pages of argument.

In, or about, July 1916 a British settler named Bridges was killed, together with a number of half-caste children, on the coast of the island of Malekula by certain "bush" natives. A police inquiry was held, and a statement was made to the police at Vila that the motive of the crime was revenge on the white man for the kidnapping of natives from the village, who had never returned, having perished presumably on some plantation or plantations. This statement was made by a native woman, a member of the tribe, who had herself no connexion with the crime. We may here remark that, as has been pointed out above, from the Kanaka point of view this was strictly normal and just. An injury had been done by the white man's tribe to the native tribe, and as the white man's tribe showed no disposition to pay compensation, or to bring the offenders to justice, or to return the victims kidnapped; and as the Government of the white man's tribe tacitly

acquiesced in the injury done to the native's tribe, therefore the native considered that it was his duty to avenge the injury. He did so, in a way shocking to us but natural to him, by taking vengeance on the first white man he could find. This, quite by chance, happened to be Mr. Bridges and the half-caste children under his charge. Now, however deserving of punishment these natives may be in our idea, yet we must admit in fairness that they only acted in contravention of our laws (of which, of course, they are in ignorance) and not in contravention of abstract morality and justice as they understand it. Indeed, we may go further, and say that from the strictly moral view (as they conceive it) they were obliged to act in this fashion. The individuality of Mr. Bridges—deeply as all must deplore his unhappy fate—cannot alter that. And we must go still further and say that the really guilty persons, the persons who by their conduct induced this lamentable incident, were first of all the recruiters who kidnapped the local natives and so gave the first offence, and secondly the Administration which failed in its duties, first of protecting the natives against being kidnapped, and secondly of punishing the perpetrators of the kidnapping, and returning the victims to their homes. All these, the recruiters and the Administration, are far more deserving of punishment than the natives, for the latter only acted up to their lights in good faith, while the former either deliberately

broke their own laws, which they understood perfectly, or else winked at their breach. It is, however, hardly to be expected that an Administration which winks at the breach of its laws by white men to the detriment of natives would acknowledge its own responsibility for the unfortunate results. It is at this point that the idea of the punitive expedition comes in. It is very difficult and dangerous to send policemen into the centre of Malekula to find out and arrest the individuals responsible for an offence of any nature. It is much easier to exact indiscriminate vengeance and so cow the native mind against repetitions of the incident. This is the line of least resistance, and affords the most spectacular results. There is no apprehension in the official mind that incidents of the kind will always occur until the abuses which give rise to them have been stopped. To admit that the incident is founded on abuses such as kidnapping is almost impossible for the official mind, for such an admission implies as a corollary that they should be stopped. It is much easier to deny their existence by basing oneself on the well-known adage that "all natives are liars." So in all such cases a punitive expedition is organized. And so it was in the case of the killing of Mr. Bridges. Two men-of-war were called in, H.M.S. *Torch* and the French cruiser *Kersaint*, a body of a hundred Australian marines were brought from German New Guinea, a detachment of the

German New Guinea native constabulary, and sections of the British and French New Hebrides constabulary as well. There were no less than seven commanders of the expedition, the two Resident Commissioners, the two Commanders of the men-o'-war, the two Commandants of Constabulary, and the Officer in command of the Australian marines. They all went to Malekula and marched inland to the village concerned and destroyed it. They did not see a single native except one old woman who was so lame that she had been left behind in the village to face the invaders by herself. On the way up to the village a party of police was left to safeguard the route, and on the way back the principal expedition found that they had been ambushed and all massacred except one British sailor who was shot through the chest. The expedition believed, but was not quite certain, that it had managed to kill a certain number of natives by fusillades through the bush. It then returned to the shore and departed.

A more lamentable story of muddle and mismanagement it would be hard to conceive. While sincerely regretting the unfortunate death of Mr. Bridges and the children, one cannot help feeling that they, like the policemen and the British sailor, were victims of a thoroughly rotten system, and that it is a sorry thing if the armed forces of the Crown are to be used to bolster it up. Nor must we forget the effect on the untutored

savage mind. He conceives that he has defeated the men-o'-war. And he is right. He has. But to what erroneous deductions will that belief lead him, and how much must be retarded the time when he can be claimed as civilized! I do not doubt for a moment that every organizer of this expedition honestly believed that he was working in a righteous cause in the best way. But that he should so believe and act merely shows how muddled, inchoate and wrong-headed the average official's ideas of his duty and functions in the Pacific are. When such men can think and act in such a way, it shows to all thinking men that they have not grasped the very first principles of the *raison d'être* of their existence and duties.

I am not alone in my views on the subject of the unrighteousness of punitive expeditions. In the Annual Report of the Governor of Papua for the year 1915 there is a caustic criticism on the ways of other Groups. Judge Murray refers to the "swift injustice" of the system, and adds that there has never been such an expedition in Papua, and that he trusts there never will be. His sentiments do him honour. The police force in Papua is not deterred by difficulties of investigation and tracking of individuals. Regardless of the difficulties of the country, difficulties by the side of which those of Malekula are mere child's play, it never rests, until it arrests the *individual* responsible. The theory of collective punishment is rejected entirely, and rightly. For it is only

by bringing home to the individual the purport of what he has done that we can hope to educate the race to our conceptions of right and wrong.

VI. THE PROPER FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

In our discussion of these important questions of land, labour, and justice, we have tried to keep in mind the proposition which we laid down at the outset, that the first principle of all government is the establishment of a *régime* under which human beings may live in peace, and enjoy the use of their life and the fruits of their work undisturbed, limited only by the condition that they are so to use and enjoy them as not to disturb their neighbours in *their* use and enjoyment of *their* life and possessions. And we have seen that, in the matter of land, policy must be founded on the consideration that no one is entitled to use or own land so as to check the development of the community; in the matter of labour no one is entitled to employ it if by so doing he is weakening the community; and in regard to justice that no one is entitled to set up a standard which benefits one section of the community to the disadvantage of another. And from these various things we can deduce what the proper functions of an official are or ought to be. We have already stated that the Government should be a ruler, not in the full and ancient sense of the word, but as a servant. A Governor is the

paid servant of the State, that is of every citizen in it, and his function is not to rule in the sense of being a Master, but to balance vested interests in such a way as to promote the greatest freedom and happiness of all.

As usual it is easier to see what the attitude of an official should be by what he very often is. There is an inevitable tendency for rulers to forget the source from which they derive their power. This is all the more conspicuous in countries where there is a subject coloured population, for the power is actually then derived from the will of the dominant race, and not from that of the subject race, which is seldom consulted. But it should be remembered that the real reason why the coloured race is not consulted is because it is not sufficiently advanced to be able to help effectively. It is not disenfranchised simply because it is a subject race. There always remains the ideal of educating the subject race up to the point when it will be able to undertake self-government. In the Pacific this ideal seems so remote that it is often forgotten altogether. So in reality we must regard the Governor of a tropical colony as the servant of the dominant race and the trustee of the coloured aborigine, the trustee until such time as he can become the servant of both.

The exercise of power tends always (and the greater the power the greater the tendency) to make the ruler forget this truth. He tends to

become a Master, and to rule, not according to the principles on which all true government should be based, but on his own ideas, which are too often tinged with opportunism. And so it comes about that we see officials developing a kind of caste system amongst themselves. They become a privileged class, and withdraw themselves imperceptibly from the reach of the laws. They forget that they, too, are subjects, and that the law of the land should apply to them as well as to all others. Hence we have the common and unedifying practice, which every one who knows these colonies is accustomed to, of frequent and open breaches of the law by officials into whose minds it would never enter to prosecute another of their own caste. Once again it is in the New Hebrides that we find this kind of thing at its worst. Resident Commissioners will glibly enact local regulations ordering boats anchored in Vila Harbour to be lighted at night, or forbidding persons to "ride furiously" through the town. An unpopular member of the community may be sure of prosecution if he transgresses these excellent rules, but the Administration thinks nothing of leaving its own boats unlighted, and its wives and daughters may go for "joy rides" through the town without provoking more than a smile. It is, of course, too much to expect a subordinate officer like a Chief of Police to prosecute a Resident Commissioner. He would probably lose his job if he did. But it is this sort of

thing which demoralizes both the community and the officials themselves. But this tendency does not stop at mere breaches of the law. It manifests itself in a haughty and aloof demeanour which exacts deference while denying civility. The average official demands the bended knee, and there is trouble if he does not get it.

In Anglo-Saxon countries the official is regarded theoretically as being exactly the same as any other citizen. But in Latin countries this is not the case. There the official is legally a member of a caste, and is withdrawn by the system of the *droit administratif* from the operation of the ordinary laws of the land in virtue of his official status. In tropical colonies where the private citizen is brought far more into contact with the Government than he is at home in everyday life, and where the Government has far greater powers than officials usually possess at home, we often see the official approximating to the system of the *droit administratif*. People in England have no conception of the powers of a Colonial Governor. It is not too much to say that he is really omnipotent. In the small Groups of the Pacific he often unites in himself the varied functions of legislator, judge, and executive officer. He may suspend the right of habeas corpus, he may create new offences. He may even create them retrospectively. He can imprison or expel persons without showing cause, and without trial. He can pass regulations preventing any person

challenging his actions in the local courts of law. No one has any control over him except the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State always supports his local representative in pursuance of the well-established Colonial Service principle of "trust the man on the spot." As the white population is so small there is no force in public opinion to restrain him, and few of the outside world know about or care for what goes on in the Pacific. It is this enormous and unbridled power which tends to make the official believe that he is not as other men are.

This state of affairs can only be changed in one of two ways. Either by a radical revision of the whole scheme of Government, or by a moderate use of these powers by the officials themselves. A radical revision of the scheme of Government can only be achieved when the native (and larger) section of the population has become sufficiently advanced through education to take an effective part in the affairs of the community. In the meantime it behoves all Colonial Governors and subordinate officials to remember constantly what their real functions are. Many of the errors of the past have been born in a want of realization of the true functions and objectives of Government.

VII. EDUCATION

It is not proposed to discuss in detail those matters which we have described as falling under the head of the secondary functions of Government, that is the doing of certain things by means of the collective effort and wealth of the community which individuals would be too weak or too poor to accomplish for themselves. It is sufficient to say that all these secondary matters must be accomplished in the same way, and subject to the same principles as the primary and fundamental ones. All public works should be undertaken in strict accord with the necessities of the community considered as a whole. But there is one thing which we must consider—education—for it is by means of this that all the success of the Administration in its endeavours to create a thriving community depends. And it may be said that education can be divided into two main parts. There is first the self-education of the dominant race as to its own duties and functions, and then the education of the native race to raise their standard of civilization up to our own. We have endeavoured to point out how necessary, how indispensable, it is for us as a dominant race, and for our officials, missionaries, and settlers, to study and to realize their proper duties and functions. Until we have acquired sound basic ideas ourselves, we cannot hope to create thriving colonies. But with this we have

already dealt. Now we must look at the nature of the education we should provide for the Kanaka. Usually when the term "education" is mentioned, the mind envisages book-learning. But the true sense is far wider. It embraces all departments of life. We shall find when we come to a consideration of Mission work in the Pacific that the only education which has so far been offered to the Kanaka has been by the Missions, and that it has been practically confined to elementary book-learning. The Government has done virtually nothing for education. It has been content to leave teaching to the Missions. No doubt book-learning is an excellent thing, but education should go far beyond that.

Again let us try and see what the root idea underlying the education of the Kanaka race should be. We may deduce it from the object which we have set before us. We want to educate the Kanaka to be an expanding race so that he may fulfil his natural functions in the islands to which he belongs, and which are his. Now clearly the best way to achieve this must be to take into account the natural characteristics of the race. We must reflect on what the Kanaka is by nature. We see at once that we have to deal with an agricultural people. In his aboriginal state he owns nothing but his land, and he lives off his land. Now here is something solid to go upon. We have, therefore, a much easier problem in front of us than the Australian Government has with its aborigines

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or the Canadian Government with its Red Indians, or even the New Zealand Government with its Maories. The Australian aborigine had no agricultural instincts. He lived by hunting for animal food, and owing to the poverty of the country (poor because he was too ignorant to develop it in the same way that the white man can) he became a roamer. The Red Indian, too, was a hunter with no notions of agriculture; while the Maori, after his emigration from the Pacific to New Zealand, apparently lost whatever agricultural instincts he may formerly have possessed, and became chiefly interested in and dependent on fishing. Now that the white races are spreading fast over these three countries, the task of devising a suitable future for their aborigines becomes one of extreme difficulty. But there is no such difficulty in the Pacific. Here the Kanaka is still an agriculturist, and it is obvious that it is by teaching him to use his land that we have the best chance of success. It may here be objected that that is exactly what we have been doing by engaging Kanakas as labourers on plantations. But a moment's reflection will show that this is not so. As Arthur Young pointed out long ago, there is a vast difference between working on your own land for yourself, and working on some one else's land for that other person. In the latter case you evolve a mere labourer who is content to do his daily quota of work mechanically, without higher

aspirations. The labourer works to get food, not to learn the principles of agriculture or with an appreciation of the value of work as work. And in any case, even though a labourer did engage on a plantation with the ulterior view of educating himself in the superior knowledge of agriculture possessed by the white man, with the intention of applying that knowledge so gained later on to the development of his own land, he would learn very little on the average plantation in the South Seas. The average plantation is about as unscientific an affair as can well be imagined. There is little attempt to employ labour-saving devices or to attempt intensive cultivation. The main desire of the white planter is to clear as much land as possible, and to plant as many coconuts as he can. Once planted they must look after themselves. There is no ploughing. The utmost done for them is to turn in cattle to keep the bush down. If disease appears, the planter waits till it disappears. He does not spray. He does not even keep accounts. There is no education in such a system as this.

What we have to get into the head of the Kanaka is the necessity for and the beneficial nature of work. And to do this we have to get our own ideas clear on the subject first. It is no use telling the Kanaka that if he makes a plantation of his own he will become better off in the sense of having more money which he will be able to spend in luxuries. He will answer that he has

already enough for his wants. He has already a number of coconut-trees scattered about the bush from which he can make copra which he can sell to provide clothes, tobacco, and tinned meats, if his soul desires such things. He has no desire to make enough money to buy a weather-board house, for he is quite comfortable in a grass one. He does not want several suits of clothes when he only needs one. We have to go further and explain to him that though he does not know it he really does want a weather-board house, because it is more sanitary than a grass one, that he wants money for mosquito-nets and quinine because those things are necessary not only for his comfort and pleasure, but for his health and for the health of his children. He wants several suits of clothes, because by changing when he gets hot or wet, he may save himself from tuberculosis and prevent himself from bringing tubercular children into the world. In a word, he wants to work to get money, not for pleasure, but to raise the standard of living, to promote the health of the race, and to harden himself and strengthen himself by toil. This is the kind of education he wants, and it is this which the Government should see that he gets. There are various ways of giving it. It would be useless merely to tell him. He wants to be led gently and gradually into an appreciation of these things by example and precept. Here again we can see the wisdom of the Papuan Administration (recently copied by

the Western Pacific High Commission as regards the Ellice group), which has brought out a law enforcing the planting by every native of a certain number of coconuts every year for his own benefit. It would be easy to make suggestions of possible means of extending this method of education. Regulations of a paternal nature enforcing the reporting of all cases of sickness would be most beneficial. But the general principle underlying these things is the same. We have to educate the Kanaka to see that the old order has passed away, and that he must adapt himself to the new one.

CHAPTER III

MISSIONS

I. THE OBJECT AND FUNCTIONS OF MISSIONS

THE fundamental object of all Missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, is to convert non-Christian races to Christianity. This proposition seems simple enough, but it requires consideration, as it is capable of a wide or a narrow interpretation. The term "Christianity" in its narrowest meaning implies a creed or a faith concerned exclusively with spiritual matters. And, indeed, one of the complaints of laymen against missionaries is that they cannot or do not recognize this limitation, but concern themselves with mundane affairs—in a word with politics. And it is true enough—History is full of examples—that a priest rarely remains exclusively a priest: almost invariably he tends to become a politician, and sometimes a politician in the worst sense of the word. (But it must not be forgotten that though evil politicians are a curse, good, honest and discreet ones are necessary in every community. Indeed, every useful citizen must necessarily be such a politician.) It is worth while to ask why this should be so, and if it is right that it should be so. And surely the

answer is that though Christianity in its essence is a spiritual belief, yet it was never meant to remain merely a matter of belief. It was intended to be a belief that would lead to practice, to certain definite acts. Otherwise it would be a mere vision bereft of practical utility. A vision, an ideal, a theory, is formed in vain if it does not lead to action. Our Lord in His life and teachings on earth gave us an ideal, a theory of life as it should be lived. But He did not stop there. He Himself was a Man of action, and He took part in the politics of the age. And so it is that His twentieth-century disciples, the missionaries, cannot do otherwise than follow in His steps. They would lose touch with their people if they did not, and the greater part of their work would be left undone. Priests are intended to be the spiritual advisers and fathers of their people, and their function is to teach first the ideal mode of life, and then how to apply this theory to the practical affairs of everyday life. They occupy an exactly parallel position to doctors and lawyers. Doctors teach us the theory of medicine and how to apply that theory to the sicknesses that assail us. Lawyers tell us of the theory of government and how to conform our daily life thereto. So it would seem that we must attribute a far wider meaning to the term "Christianity" than many and often interested people would permit. Who would challenge the authority of a doctor who told a patient first that he was ill, then the nature

of the illness from which he was suffering, then the proper drugs to take to help him back to health, and then further that he must alter his mode of life, live in a more suitable climate, give up some injurious business, or abandon some favourite pursuit? And yet here the doctor would be going far beyond the mere prescription of drugs, which would be the narrower definition of a physician's duties. Such advice is not merely his duty, but all admit it to be his duty. Or who would challenge the right of a lawyer to give personal advice far beyond a mere interpretation of an Act of Parliament? It is often the most valuable part of his advice. All know and admit his right and duty is such. And so it is with priests and missionaries.

And, indeed, a missionary abroad has even wider functions than a priest at home. He has to deal, in the first instance at any rate, with races that know nothing of our Western civilization. To get into touch with them at all, he has first to make them realize his position, what his object is; that he comes, not like a trader to gain wealth or a Government official to impose the King's peace, but with gifts in his hand. It is no easy task to explain to a savage tribe of unknown language, which has no knowledge of, and has never seen or felt the need of white strangers, but which is quite content with its own standard of life, that he has come with gifts which they need without knowing they need them. And

it is even harder to explain such apparently unsubstantial gifts as words, instructions which run counter to all their preconceived ideas of living. Gifts such as knives, beads, or food, are immediately intelligible, but the deferred gift requires much explanation. And, indeed, they can only be explained by the promise of material benefits. In truth these two things are but one. No missionary could convert or Christianize a race without simultaneously raising the standard of civilization. This raising of the standard of civilization is the test by which a tribe's conversion must be measured. The higher the standard of civilization the higher the standard of Christianity, and vice versa. An honest, clean, industrious, healthy life in this world is Christianity, and leads to Heaven:

So it seems that the compass of a missionary's activities can only be bounded by interest in, and activities over, the whole life, physical and mental, of his charge. He is, or should be, the Father of his flock; he should be priest, doctor, lawyer, and teacher, of all things. How great then is his responsibility, and with what care should all missionaries be selected, and what complete and thorough training should they have! It is not sufficient for a man to become a missionary that he should have a "call"—he should also have a training. It is a matter for regret that the training of Protestant missionaries is not far more thorough than it is. In this regard a

useful lesson might well be learned from the Jesuits.

The views here expressed anent the functions of a missionary are not shared by everybody, even by all the missionaries themselves. Conscious that a wide interest and activity in the daily life of their flock tends to produce words and acts of hostility from various quarters within and without their people, there is often an attempt at compromise, a feeling that it is better to leave untouched the practical side of mission work rather than by arousing enmities, imperils the whole. And so some try to lay down a line of demarcation between those mundane matters in which it is fitting and right that a priest should share in, and those which lie or should lie (for the sake of expediency) outside his province. This line of demarcation always seems a vague conception. An idea of it may perhaps best be given by an illustration. It is right, for instance, to teach natives to build boats, but it is inadvisable to counsel them not to recruit with a certain settler, even though the missionary should know that he is an unsatisfactory employer, or to report cases of kidnapping, liquor-selling, or other breaches of the law, unless they are very serious, say in the case of murder. The root idea seems to be a desire not to interfere with the relations of natives and the Government. But it is an idea which, I think, is founded on error. An attempt to obtain justice for an innocent sufferer

is a very different thing to an attempt to oust the jurisdiction of the law. No written or spoken representations to a central authority can abrogate the final power of decision that lies in a court of justice. And, indeed, in cases of crime it is not merely a question of the duty of a missionary *qua* missionary, but the duty of a missionary as a citizen. A missionary never ceases to be a citizen. Submission to the will of Cæsar does not imply a waiving of the right and duty of an appeal to Cæsar for the expression of his will. And there is even a wider way of looking at the matter than this. Are not such distinctions merely opportunism? *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*. Our Lord did not teach compromise. And compromise must be sharply distinguished from the very necessary and desirable quality of discretion.

II. THE MELANESIAN MISSION UP TO 1916

Consciously, half-consciously, or unconsciously, most missionaries in the Pacific have adopted the wider view and practice of their calling, with, in various cases, more or less discretion; more, or less, according to their origin, training, and intelligence. And it now behoves us to examine in some detail the record of what they have accomplished since first preachers of the Gospel penetrated into the Pacific. There is, of course, in pursuance of our general scheme, no intention here of attempting a detailed record of

all Missions in the various Groups of the Pacific. The materials for that history are already written in many volumes by actors in the scenes. My object now, as in other matters, is to endeavour to give an idea, an impression of the general trend of missionary endeavour, to paint in broad outline the objectives sought after and the results so far attained: and then to see if it can be discovered where policies have failed, where effort has been wasted or dissipated, and whither the wisdom of past experience points the path for the future. To do this we must perforce go into certain details. And we will, therefore, first review the general work and methods of one Mission which will give us an idea of the general situation.

Let us start then with a consideration of the Melanesian Mission which works at Norfolk Island, the northern New Hebrides, in the Banks, Torres, Santa Cruz, and the British Solomon Islands. The general scheme of the Mission up to 1916 has been as follows. There are two central training schools for young children at Vureas in Vanua Lava, Banks Group, and at Bogotu in the Solomons. In other islands there are smaller local schools for both children and adults. These latter are attended by natives living in their villages. The two central training schools are, to adopt our own phraseology, boarding schools. To them are sent children from all the different islands. They are the only two schools with really a

permanent character. The local schools endure, are shifted, or disappear according to the requirements of the local population. The ability or disability on the part of the Mission to keep them going, together with the decay of the native race, has given the character of the Melanesian Mission's work a less constant character than the corresponding efforts of the Presbyterians in the southern and central New Hebrides, though recently, even the Presbyterians have started to abandon portions of their work through the decrease of population. From the two central schools, chosen and promising pupils are sent to Norfolk Island for special training with a view to their becoming teachers. The average course is a three years' one, but in special cases may be prolonged. In rare instances pupils have reached a sufficient standard to warrant ordination into the deaconship, and in three cases even have become Priests. The training is chiefly religious, but lessons are also given in reading and writing, elementary arithmetic, Australian and Church history, geography, and to those who show a special aptitude, in music. The organ in the Patterson Memorial Chapel is usually played by a Kanaka. Pupils have also sometimes an opportunity of picking up fragments of other knowledge. Some assist in the cooking, others in the printing establishment or carpenter's shop. Girls are taught to sew. And that, excepting a knowledge of the language of Mota which was

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adopted as the lingua franca of the Mission, is all.

Now all this is very elementary, and cannot lead very far. The pupils acquire, in the great majority of cases, only a veneer of Western civilization, and at the end of their course they can only—indeed that is the goal deliberately set before them—return to native life, with such European and Christian notions as they have imbibed, destined to be refreshed and stimulated only by an occasional visit from a missionary or the *Southern Cross*.

Thus it is evident that the objective of the Melanesian Mission in the past has been simply to train teachers in the elementary truths of Christianity, so that they may in turn pass on these truths to those of the native community who have had no opportunity of going to one of the two central schools or to Norfolk Island. In fact, these teachers, for the most part, run the local schools. There has been little effort to educate the Kanaka in the practical side of life. Interesting, astonishing as it is, to see nascent capabilities develop, and to see a boy who only a few years previously was a complete savage, become capable of playing a Church service on an organ, or become a useful printer's assistant or carpenter, it cannot be denied that such knowledge is to a great extent useless. There are no organs or printing presses in the village life to which he is destined inevitably to return.

The boy who has served in the carpenter's shop, on the other hand, does acquire knowledge which will be of permanent use, but the fact that his ultimate vocation in life is that of a teacher, necessarily reduces his opportunities of putting it into practice. There has never been any idea of training a boy to become a carpenter. In fact, no trace of the industrial Mission can be found in the Melanesian Mission system.

Up to 1917 no English was taught in the Mission. All teachers were trained in Mota, and the Mission set its face steadfastly against the acquirement or use of that useful, though inadequate substitute, "pidgin-English." On the other hand, all Presbyterian-trained teachers speak "pidgin-English," and thanks to their knowledge of it, and their accustomedness to association with white men, they naturally become the spokesmen and interpreters of their villages in intercourse with strangers. The Melanesian Mission teachers who only know Mota cannot fill this position, and, therefore, one great sphere of usefulness has been cut off from them.

And so it is seen that the policy of the Melanesian Mission as a whole has hitherto been an acceptance of that narrower view of the functions of a Mission, that its teachers shall spread the theory of Christianity, but nothing more. They are not to interfere in secular matters, and their training has been such as to make it impossible for them to take a predominant part in such

things. The result is that religion to the bulk of native members of the Church of England is a thing divorced and separate from everyday life, and being so, is of very little use. It tends to develop into an obligation to go to Church with licence to forget religion in between times. Another inevitable consequence, especially in the New Hebrides, where the native is the legitimate prey of kidnappers and grog-sellers, is the decay of the population. Those (native) teachers who might and should advise their flocks are unqualified to do so; nor are they capable of acting as mediators between the uninstructed aborigines and the white man. Accordingly the general standard of civilization of those natives still surviving is not being raised appreciably. Their old beliefs and customs of life are being undermined, and to take their place they are given a new belief only, but no new custom of life.

On the other hand the Melanesian Mission is probably of greater influence in purely spiritual matters with the natives than some of the other Protestant bodies. The white Melanesian Missionary tries very hard to understand and appreciate the native mode of thought. He learns Mota in the first place, and then the language of his island or district. He lives with his boys, if he can, in their grass houses, and not in a separate manse or parsonage. He will at times express a wish that he were himself a native, or even meditate marriage with one so as to enter native

life more fully. He studies native customs, and when they are harmless will endeavour to participate in them. He will attend native dances, and will even dance himself. In a word he realizes how true it is that to get hold of natives, to influence their lives, he has to know his native. Such manifested interest not merely enlarges his mind, knowledge, and sympathies, but it provokes response. It is part of human nature to feel gratification at such manifest and persistent interest, and gratification inspires confidence and reciprocity. Ministers of other Protestant denominations do not usually do this sort of thing. They are white men, and they keep aloof. They take little interest in native customs, and instinctively suspect evil in them (even if there is none), merely because they are native and strange. They have come to preach a new dispensation, and the sooner the old life is swept away the better. They never lose sight of the fact that they are the teachers and the natives the taught, and any inversion of the rôle goes against the grain. They feel that the dignity of the teacher must be upheld, and also the dignity of the white man over the native. A native must conform to the Western emblems of respect and decency. He must wear clothes, trousers for preference, to qualify him for Church membership, he must take off his hat when he enters the house, and address one as "Mr." The Kanaka pupil at Norfolk Island, on the other hand, wears clothes merely

because the climate is colder than his own, and addresses the white staff by their surnames only—he is taught to do so. The only exception that is made is in favour of the Bishop, who is simply called “Bishop.” And yet, somehow, despite all this, the Melanesian Missionary maintains his dignity, while securing a closer communion with his native flock. It is from this desire and effort to get into the closest possible touch with natives that we have such books as Dr. Codrington’s “Melanesia and the Melanese,” which, though written some forty years ago, still remains the chief authority on the Kanaka race of the New Hebrides and Solomons. No other Church can produce a rival to it.

III. THE NEW POLICY OF THE MELANESIAN MISSION

An apparent apprehension of some at least of these things has, combined with other reasons, roused the Melanesian Mission recently to make a new departure in policy. At a conference held at Bunana in the Solomons in 1916 various resolutions were passed, of which the two most important are the following: (1) In future English is to be taught to all pupils instead of Mota; (2) the head Training College of Norfolk Island is to be abandoned and a new one is to be founded in the Solomons in its place.

In regard to the first of these two resolutions

the chief motive given for the change is that it is forced on the Mission by the Government and the island traders, as neither will make any effort to learn Mota. And it is hoped that if the policy of teaching natives English is successful, the teachers will be of use in the interrelations of native villages and white men. This amounts to a frank recognition of the thesis maintained above that native teachers have, or should have, a part in tribal affairs, not merely as tribesmen, but as leaders in the tribes. No doubt this broadening of view has been forced on the Mission. It is a curious thing that although it is a perfectly well-known fact that Mota is, owing to the devoted labours of Dr. Codrington and others, now a well-analysed tongue, reduced to grammar, and with a little literature of its own, no one, either Government, trader, or even other Missions have thought fit to avail themselves of the pioneer work thus done. It is a fact recognized in practically every colony in the world that it is essential for Government officials to learn the native language of their district. This is so even in the Pacific. In Fiji all cadets are compelled to pass an examination in Fijian; in the Western Pacific High Commission cadets are similarly compelled to pass an examination in the native language of their respective districts. In Papua one native language, Motu, is being adopted as a service language, and efforts are being made to spread its use through the various tribes. The Papuan system

is more sensible than that of the Western Pacific High Commission. All Melanesia has an infinite number of languages, akin in family it is true, but vastly differing the one from the other. There are over sixty different languages in the New Hebrides alone. It is obviously impossible for any man to learn more than a few of these, and as each is spoken by, at most, only a few hundreds of a rapidly disappearing race, it seems folly to attempt to make use of them all. Obviously the simplest solution is to choose one language and endeavour to make it a lingua franca. And equally obvious is the wisdom of adopting a language which already is reduced to admirable lucidity in lexicons and grammars compiled by competent linguists. And the adoption of Mota in the New Hebrides would be rendered all the easier and more rapid by the fact that thousands of boys and girls have passed through the Mission and are scattered throughout the various islands. There are, at the present time, few places in the diocese where there are not one or more natives who speak Mota. This failure, in the New Hebrides, of all the parties interested to combine together to use for their mutual benefit an instrument which has been laboriously prepared by the Melanesian Mission, and which stands ready for their use, is an instance of the incomprehensible, futile, and maddening lack of cohesion and unity of aim between bodies whose avowed object is to benefit the natives. It demonstrates beyond

question the veiled hostility, or at the least the absence of sympathy, which exists both between the Government and all Missions, and between the various Missions themselves.

The relative advantages which are likely to accrue from the two opposite systems of promoting the civilization of the Kanakas through the medium of a native tongue or through the medium of English must be considered. It may be granted at once that in the initial stages of Mission work in the Pacific it was unavoidable that teaching should be carried out in the medium of a native tongue. Difficult as it undoubtedly is for a white man to acquire an unknown language, it may be said to be impossible for a primitive, a savage Kanaka, to acquire English at that stage in his development. The stronger brain has to undertake the labour of establishing communication. But some eighty years have passed since Missions entered upon the Pacific field, and most natives, in the Melanesian Mission diocese at all events, have had some acquaintance with white men and their ways. And so at the present time, no doubt, it is more feasible to reverse the system and make an attempt to teach them English. Personally I am inclined to believe that the attempt may succeed, provided children are taught sufficiently young, provided they are kept sufficiently apart from opportunities of speaking their own languages, and provided they have adequate opportunities given them of keeping up their

knowledge of it after they leave the Mission headquarters and return to village life. But it must be confessed that these conditions will be very hard to fulfil. The question is, which is the better course, not only in the interests of the natives, but in that of the whites in these islands? Clearly to teach them English will be easier for the whites—but that is rather beside the point. If the whole race, all the islands, tribes, and villages, are to be turned into English-speaking races, and if the native tongues are, as in the case of the African natives in the United States, to be forgotten, then it will follow that all old native customs will die out, and we shall eventually have a race comparable with the negroes of America. Is that what we want? Is that what we should want? Are we to stamp out finally all the racial characteristics of the Kanakas and evolve a white coloured race? Or are we to try and give the Kanakas all the best of our Western civilization while retaining those good qualities which are their racial characteristics? All depends on the question of language. Language is a very subtle thing which is adapted to reflect the peculiar characteristics of a race. Take away the language and you take away the chief medium of a race's self-expression. Inarticulate, its peculiar characteristics will perish of inanition. But the gift of a new language will not of itself replace the deficiency. A new language which serves as a suitable medium of self-expression

of the race that devised it, will not be fully suitable for other races until they have adopted the style of civilization corresponding to it. The rooting out of the characteristics of a race and their replacement by those of another race must necessarily be a long and difficult task, and the danger is that in the process the race temporarily deprived of its birthright, of the mode of thought to which it has been born and is accustomed, and not yet able to substitute the new mode of thought owing to lack of understanding or education, may slip through our fingers and perish. We may see the kind of thing which may occur even if the race does not actually perish if we look at the African negroes of the United States. They have lost their old languages and customs, and have as yet acquired only a smattering of our language and thoughts. If we remember the slow progress of our own race from savagery to our present civilization, we shall not be astonished at their inability, in the space of two or three generations, to bridge the chasm that took us a thousand years to cross. Doubtless, as these Africans are a virile race, they will in process of time strengthen their brain-power and absorb our scheme of life and make it their own. The Africans in the United States, however, besides being a more virile race, are more fortunately situated than the Kanakas of the New Hebrides. They have shaken off the shackles of slavery, and are protected by the law from the evils which

are still devastating the Kanakas. They have now their appointed place in an orderly political system. In the New Hebrides, on the other hand, the question is complicated by the fact that the ultimate political future of the Group is still uncertain. It is certainly hopeless to continue the disastrous experiment of the Condominium. The Group should become either British or French. Should it become French, what is the use of teaching the natives English? In that case it is certain that it would be better to endeavour to spread the knowledge of Mota in the hope that the French Government would, when acting alone, show more common sense than it has when acting in conjunction with the British Government, and employ the medium of communication so easily and conveniently provided for its use. For it is certain that the French will never succeed in teaching the natives to speak fluent French any more than the Germans in the Groups under their control succeeded in forcing the natives to learn German. The inevitable result if they did so try would be pidgin-English or perhaps pidgin-French. But should the New Hebrides become British then the question still remains, which is the best course for both native and white man?

It would seem that the white man's interest in the subject as an individual is confined to his own convenience. It is clearly a certain amount of trouble for him to learn Mota or any other foreign tongue. It will cause him no trouble if

the Kanaka is forced to learn English. But a mere question of the individual's personal trouble ought to bear little weight. From the collective point of view of the white man, that is from the Government's point of view, there is more to be said. It saves a great deal of trouble and expense, and promotes efficiency, if a Government can carry on all its business in one language. Again, in the distant future, we may succeed in evolving a coloured race with our own characteristics, but in the meantime we run all the risks referred to above of losing the race altogether in the process. I cannot see what advantage will accrue to the Kanaka race by setting this object as our goal, or to us either. In days when the British Empire is avowedly fighting for the protection and the survivorship of small races, why in another corner of the world should it take steps to stamp out by educational means the native genius of the Kanakas by depriving them of their native tongues? In the first chapter I pointed out the necessity for fostering the spirit of nationality. The new policy of the Melanesian Mission runs counter to the principles there advocated. I think the best policy would be to teach both English and Mota, and to encourage, or at least not to discourage, the rest of the native tongues. A native of the New Hebrides has no difficulty in picking up a sufficient knowledge of Mota in a few months or even weeks. Mota is a good language, a rich language, well

adequate, and of sufficient flexibility to adapt itself to modern usages. Many people, even in the South Seas, who have never troubled to study native languages, imagine that being primitive they consist of a few hundred words only and are easy for any one to learn. They confound Mota and native languages generally with pidgin-English. Dr. Codrington's "Mota Dictionary" runs to 288 pages, and is admittedly incomplete.

The second of the Bunana (1916) Resolutions was that the head station of Norfolk Island should be transferred to the Solomons. This also I regard as an error, and as it seems that its execution is to be delayed for some time, I sincerely hope that it may be reconsidered. I believe the principal motive for the change is the question of finance. At present the Mission steamer, the *Southern Cross*, plies twice or thrice annually from Auckland, its headquarters, to Norfolk Island, thence to Vila in the New Hebrides (the only port of entry in the Group), thence to the northern islands of the New Hebrides, the Banks, and Torres, and thence (by special permission to clear without returning to Vila) to Santa Cruz and the Solomons (special leave again being granted to enter the Solomons elsewhere than at Tulagi, the seat of Government). The return voyage ends once more at Auckland. This involves the Mission in an annual expenditure of some seven thousand pounds. But beyond this it is felt that the headquarters at Norfolk Island

are too far removed from the centre of the diocese, and that it is the duty of both Bishop and Missionaries to reside as much as possible in the actual sphere of their work. Certain factors on the other side seem to me to establish conclusively the case for the continuance of the present arrangement. I cannot believe that the public, which has so generously supported the Mission for so many years, would let a question of a comparatively small annual sum of money stand in the way of such a continuance provided it were certain that such continuance were the right thing. In support of this thesis I adduce first the question of the health of the white missionaries. At present, when a man has, on account of fever, to leave the islands temporarily, he can go to Norfolk Island to recuperate and still carry on his work there. Take away the Norfolk Island School and he can still go to Norfolk Island it is true, but only to fret out his heart in a boarding-house. It must be remembered that Melanesian Missionaries, 'Varsity men of talent, who consent to accept often less than ten pounds a month, are enthusiasts. Their work is their life, and it would be a great trial to them to leave it even temporarily. Again, the division of service between unhealthy and a healthy climate prolongs the working life of a missionary. It has to be remembered that when a missionary loses his health he is often practically without resources. All he has usually to look forward to is a pension, the

meagreness of which would be comical were it not tragic. No doubt no Melanesian Missionary would agree to this statement, but it is true for all that. And then again we must not lose sight of the educational value of travel—even such limited travel as is involved in a trip to Norfolk Island from the New Hebrides or Solomons—on the native mind. And last, but not least, we must not underestimate the effect of a three years' residence on an imitative and impressionable native lad in a place hallowed by the memories of great Bishops and Missionaries of the past, by countless native students, some of whom lie sleeping there in a green-turfed shady field, or of the *genius loci* that consecrates the noble Chapel raised as a memorial to the Mission's martyr Bishop, Bishop Patterson. I who have worshipped in that Chapel so often know well that no man, be he brown or white, can leave its doors without feeling a better man. It is hallowed by the past. It is a holy place. It is a place which generations of Kanakas and Missionaries look back upon just as a 'Varsity man looks back upon his college. It is the Kanaka's college. The chapel is the cathedral of the Kanaka. It cannot be, it is not right, to blot out the past and take away their heritage. The chapel and college and park of Norfolk Island can be done away with and the work of seventy years effaced, but it can never be replaced. It is not like the policy in regard to teaching English instead of Mota, which can be reversed after ex-

periment. Here if the mistake is once made it will be irreparable.

I am aware that these two tremendous Resolutions are the work of the men now working in the Melanesian Mission, and I know well that they have had their doubts, and that they have only come to their conclusions after much heart-searching and with hesitation. And I know that they have decided as they honestly think is in the highest interests of the Mission. But I feel that often the actors in a scene are too nearly placed to see it in its true perspective, and I think that the right course in these two matters can only be found by a consideration of the general question of the future of the Kanaka race as a whole. It is hardly within the power of a single body like the Melanesian Mission to determine this unaided. I think the materials could only be found in concerted deliberation with other bodies, religious and lay, which have the same task to envisage. And I think, hard though it might be to do so satisfactorily, the natives ought to have a say in the matter. There has been too much individual effort in the past. What is needed is a frank pooling of ideas and resources with a view to union and strength. If such a combined programme for the future in all its varied aspects could be arranged between the Missions and the Government, I feel sure that the retention of Norfolk Island would find its place therein. Such a programme might be im-

possible to arrange until the political future of the New Hebrides is settled, but until it is settled I think the question of the abandonment of Norfolk Island should be kept open. No ir-retrievable step has been taken so far.

IV. THE PRESBYTERIAN AND OTHER MISSIONS IN THE NEW HEBRIDES

The Presbyterian Mission, which, by agreement with the Melanesian Mission in 1880, took as its sphere of work the southern and middle New Hebrides, is in reality composed of a number of different Missions, that is to say, it is supported by a number of different Churches including the Church of Victoria, Canada, and New Zealand, the Paton Memorial Committee, and so forth. The only connecting link between the bodies and the individual missionaries working under their auspices is the Synod, which is a voluntary association of the individual missionaries which meets once a year at some spot in the Group to discuss matters of general interest. It passes Resolutions, but these are simply expressions of the opinion of the majority present, and have no other sanction or force than that which lies in an expression of the opinion of the majority of the Missionaries. The actual practical work of the Mission is carried on by the individual missionaries in accordance with the views and abilities of each, and without supervision. To take an extreme case (which it

would be hard to prove exists or has existed), it would be possible for a Presbyterian missionary to do nothing at all except draw his salary, and to do so indefinitely. It is true that to stimulate subscriptions most of the missionaries send quarterly or periodic reports to their committees and Church publications, setting forth the progress that has been made, but these reports are purely the individual opinion of their writers. There is no system of obtaining independent reports. Undoubtedly the hierarchic system of the Church of England has advantages in this respect over the laxer system of other Protestant bodies.

As the Mission's work is so entirely subdivided amongst individuals it is not surprising to find that there is no big institution in any way comparable with the Melanesian Mission Norfolk Island school. The nearest approach to it is the Training College for teachers at Tangoa, Santo. This, however, is on a very much smaller scale, and is indeed simply a rather large ordinary mission station. The training given there is quite elementary, like the Norfolk Island one, only if possible more so. It accentuates even more the purely religious side of the training, though at the Synod of 1913 held at Paama it was decided in future to endeavour to follow more in the lines of an industrial mission. The students are taught in English, but the results rarely achieve more than a kind of glorified

pidgin-English. Still, such as it is, it certainly does enable the finished teacher to take a leading part in his village life, and to be its interpreter with white men. The pity is that the general training is so elementary that it does not really educate the native or give him sufficient knowledge to be able to cope with the white man on an equal footing. He acquires just sufficient knowledge to be able to make mistakes. I fear the Presbyterian Mission, and Missions generally, have yet to ponder and take to heart the words of Pope :

A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.

In the business matters of everyday life the most difficult natives to deal with are the teachers and the returned Queensland Kanakas.

No attempt has been made to adopt one native language as a general medium of communication. Teachers going to other islands than their own (and it is usually considered advisable to place a teacher in some other locality) use first this pidgin-English and then the native tongue of the locality which they pick up in process of time.

One point should be made clear. A native of one island or village acquires fairly rapidly the language of another tribe, but it is rare that he really masters it so as to speak it as well as his own mother tongue. He acquires merely a superficial fluency which is really inadequate for the serious and difficult matter in which he is engaged,

that of conveying the fundamental tenets of (to them) an entirely new religion which he has only recently learned himself, to people whose thoughts run in an entirely different channel. Even for a highly educated white man who has made a deep study into a particular native language and mode of thought, it is very difficult to express the ideas of our Bible and Faith adequately in such a language. This is particularly the case in dealing with abstract ideas for which the native language has no corresponding equivalent, for the simple reason that the idea is a new one, and has therefore never been reduced to language. Even at Norfolk Island where we find a native language, the resources of which have been fully investigated by a number of highly trained philologists over a long period of years, and where that language has been systematically used and taught, it is frankly admitted by the staff that pure Mota is almost unknown. It is further admitted that excellent though the Mota version of the Bible is, there is still room for improvement in it. While to cope with and express our Western ideas the language has constantly (and this is particularly true of the Prayer-Book version) to be strained and so expanded. Now this straining and expansion of a language by foreigners who seek to render it capable of expressing new and often abstract ideas, is a very difficult and delicate task. If it be ill done there is always the risk that the result will fail to convey any meaning

at all to natives to whom also in many cases it is a foreign tongue, or even to those who have spoken it from childhood. And if it be so difficult to achieve satisfactory results for a European scholar working with a well-known language like Mota, how much more difficult must it be for an imperfectly trained native teaching through a practically unstudied language. There can be no reasonable doubt that much confusion must be caused in uninstructed native minds by such a poor system, and that not only is the rapidity of progress hindered, but in many cases gross errors of translation have the very opposite effect to that intended, and actually provoke hostility. It must be obvious on reflection that there can only be three possible systems. The first would be to teach English only to all the natives in the New Hebrides and try to stamp out all native languages. We have already seen the disadvantages of this. The second would be to investigate thoroughly all native languages and use them all. This is the system adopted by the Presbyterian Mission. This is a labour of Hercules, long and expensive, productive of great waste of time and energy, and of indifferent results. It is also unnecessary while we have a third and simpler system to our hand, to use a common language like Mota (where the spadework has already been done), either alone or concurrently with English. This third system clearly presents many attractive advantages.

The Presbyterian Mission surpasses all other Missions in this part of the Pacific in the sphere of medical work. While the Melanesian Mission has but one general hospital (in the Solomons), the Presbyterian Mission has in the past maintained three large hospitals (at Lenakel, Tanna; at Vila, Sandwich; and at Dip Point, Ambrym); and two smaller ones (at Wala, Malekula; and Hog Harbour, Santo). All are in charge of qualified medical men, some of whom are recognized as being of outstanding ability. Dr. J. T. Bowie, who was in charge of the hospital at Ambrym until the great earthquake of 1912 swallowed it up, was undoubtedly one of the finest surgeons in the Western Pacific. Splendid work was done in building and organizing the Paton Memorial Hospital in Vila by Dr. D. Crombie, while the hospital of Lenakel as conducted by Dr. J. T. Nicholson up to his resignation in 1916 was a spectacle to see and marvel at. Indeed I have no hesitation in saying that at Lenakel, Presbyterian energy reached its highest perfection. The results there attained cannot be surpassed by any other Mission station in the Group.

The Mission grounds at Lenakel are of an area of some one hundred acres running from the foreshore up gentle park-like slopes to the Manse, the Hospital, Church and School, all of which stand on high ground overlooking the sea. At least half the cost of these various buildings has

been contributed in cash by the natives themselves. The begging spirit, which so many Mission natives acquire (and which is acquired so easily) through the system of free gifts from missionaries, is here reduced to a minimum. If a native wants a bottle of medicine he is charged a shilling for it, and very humanly he values what he pays for more than that which he gets for nothing. In the result he drinks the medicine and gets well again. At Vila, on the other hand, the original system started was to give medicines away for nothing. They were therefore the less valued. A boy would take a bottle of medicine which had been pressed upon him with an air of conferring a favour, and leave it untouched on a shelf. Later, when an effort was made to enforce payment, the native resented having to pay for what he had formerly been given, even pressed to take: and so many of them when ill refrain from going to the hospital at all, or only go when it is too late. The moral is that when a new hospital is opened a small charge should be made from the start. It means not merely that the hospital will be more used, and the health of the native community improved, but that a spirit of self-reliance will be fostered, which is one of the necessary steps on the way to our ultimate objective of a properly balanced and flourishing native community. Natives in most cases are not unable to pay a small sum. Nor need the charge necessarily be made in every instance in cash.

The essential is a return of some kind ; nominal if you will, but still a return.

In addition to this the local natives have planted a portion of the Mission grounds with coconuts and cotton which in process of time will render the Mission self-supporting. All the native foods, such as yams, bananas, taro, and so forth, needed in the hospital for the use of patients, are cultivated on the Mission grounds by the patients themselves in their convalescent stages. This is not only better for the natives, who thrive more naturally on their native foods, but it reduces the cost of living expenses, and makes the natives refer with pride to "our hospital." It is indeed theirs. The hospital at Vila, on the other hand, feeds its patients on rice and tinned meat purchased from the local stores.

This spirit of self-reliance so sedulously and so successfully fostered by Dr. Nicholson shows out too in other directions. All the villages in the Lenakel district are kept clean. And in consequence the health of the district is above the average. One sees numbers of healthy little children playing about, which gives good augury for an increasing population. This tendency, combined with the benefits Tanna derives from its isolated geographical position—a matter treated of elsewhere—will, provided Dr. Nicholson's good work is carried on, materially alter one part of the New Hebrides for the better.

From the above it will be seen that Dr. Nichol-

son took a wide view of the proper functions of a medical missionary. He did not confine his activities merely to diagnosing complaints and prescribing treatment. He went far deeper than that. He tried to teach the natives the reason for these things and to inculcate some simple notions of modern hygiene. That is just what is wanted. We provided natives with modern implements, we must also teach them how to use them.

From the purely educational point of view there is nothing to distinguish Tanna from any of the other fields of Presbyterian endeavour. Elementary reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, and English are taught, and there it ends. But this superadding of what might almost be described as a medical education in Lenakel has placed the people as a whole on a distinctly higher intellectual level than many of their neighbours, and their influence is slowly beginning to permeate the whole island. One thing leads to another. Each new lesson learned opens out new vistas for possible progress. And a very remarkable development in one respect, at all events, has taken place in Tanna, which can be traced in its origin to the mental stimulus given the natives by the energy and wisdom of their missionary. Although the episode is certainly not part of the Presbyterian programme, still it is the result of Presbyterian teaching, and will serve to illustrate how a good scheme of education will make for advance.

From its geographical situation, which makes it difficult to ship copra from Tanna save by the local monthly steamer, which refuses to deal direct with natives, the natives of Tanna have been practically forced to sell their copra to the local traders, who for many years past have profited by the situation by paying them a very much smaller price than traders have to pay in the central and northern parts of the New Hebrides. The natives have been chafing under this system by which they could only obtain about half the rate that they could get from merchants at Vila. The system was not really so unjust as it seems to be at first sight. Traders have to live, and it is a distinct advantage to the natives to have some European stores on the island. And if the traders are adequately remunerated they are much more likely to treat the natives fairly in other matters, and have less temptation to supplement their incomes by embarking on the illegal sale of alcohol or similar demoralizing practices. The native mind, however, is not yet quite sufficiently advanced to be able to appreciate considerations of this kind. Still less, of course, can they understand fluctuations in the world's copra market which cause local prices to the grower to move sympathetically, a phenomenon which has induced the Tanna European traders to pay a fixed price as far as possible. But the salient fact that they only received about half the price the traders resold

for has penetrated their intelligence and has caused them to search for some means to augment it. Their wits, sharpened by the education described above, and perhaps further stimulated by the knowledge of certain returned Kanakas from Queensland, made them hit finally on the idea of purchasing a schooner for themselves, and shipping their produce direct to Vila. The scheme was a bold one, and all their usual advisers strongly advised them from embarking on it. It was pointed out that the initial cost of a schooner capable of facing the heavy seas of the southern Group would be very great, and the cost of running considerable : that the lack of harbours would be a perpetual risk, and that they had no experience of navigating large vessels ; also that where the contributories (or shareholders) would number thousands it would be a matter of great difficulty for them, ignorant as they are of the principles of book-keeping, to keep the accounts of the venture and distribute profits to those entitled to them in a systematic manner. But once set on the idea they were determined to carry it through. All difficulties were overcome, money was raised, a vessel bought and paid for, and several successful trips have been made. Even the opponents of the scheme have had to acknowledge that they were mistaken, and to admit that the Tanna native is capable of running a commercial and maritime undertaking in competition with the white man. It is a most

encouraging sign for the future of the race. But it suggests the reflection that we have here a proof that in Tanna at all events we have a field where it will pay well to introduce more education. These natives deserve to have the opportunity of learning the principles of navigation, seamanship and commerce. At present they merely learn by experiment, and run many risks in order to acquire what can only be an amateur knowledge. Now that we have started educating the Kanaka we cannot stop. We must go on, always raising the standard, always teaching him new things.

In another respect, too, great credit is due to the Presbyterian Mission as a whole. It has realized more than any other Mission in the New Hebrides its duty to protest against the abuses which have made that unhappy Group a scandal to civilization. It has realized more fully than any other Mission that it is concerned in the bodily and not only in the spiritual welfare of its people. Had it not been for the persistent reports and denunciations of crimes made by its members, the world might still have remained in ignorance of the shameful exploitation of the natives by unprincipled adventurers, and the apathy and connivance of the Government in these things. Unpalatable as it is to be compelled to assume the rôle of denouncer and agitator, the Mission has never faltered from the early days when it stood out against, fought and conquered the kidnappers for the Queensland plantations,

and the sandalwooders. It agitated persistently for the introduction of an established form of Government, and though disappointed that its efforts only fructified by the establishment of the hybrid Condominium in 1906, it was determined that an improvement should be made in local conditions. When it was discovered that the government of the Condominium, so far from abolishing abuses, merely served to cloak the authors of those abuses with the shelter of legality, it rose again in protest. At the Paama Synod of 1913, it issued, conjointly with the Melanesian Mission and the Church of Christ, a Manifesto to the Empire. This led to a conference between England and France which was held in London just prior to the beginning of the Great War. Its object was avowedly to devise some means for remedying abuses. But the local interests of wrongdoers who found their wrongdoing too profitable to be let slip lightly, and of the Administration which sought by denying reforms to cover its own bad record, and of the Home Government which sought only to shelter its local representatives, proved too strong, and the only result of the conference was a series of recommendations which would have the effect, not of abolishing abuses, but of stifling complaints. The outbreak of war prevented these pernicious schemes from being carried into effect it is true, but the Group still remains rotten to the core, and has left only the power

of crying out its wrongs. The Presbyterian Mission will not prove false to its past. When the time comes it will renew its efforts, and in the greater honesty of purpose which will be born in all of us in Europe from the discipline and suffering of war, with greater hope of success.

Enough has now been said here to indicate the general scope, aims, and achievements of the Presbyterian Mission in the New Hebrides, and what has been said of them may be held to apply in greater or less degree to the other Missions in the Group, the Church of Christ, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Roman Catholics. The two former are quite small Missions compared with the Presbyterian. The Presbyterian Mission maintains from twenty to twenty-five missionaries, the Seventh Day Adventists two, and the Church of Christ three. The Melanesian Mission has usually about three in the New Hebrides, Banks, and Torres, the greater part of its island work being in the Solomons, where it maintains about twenty. The Roman Catholics number about twenty-eight priests, and have a training school near Vila, but in the New Hebrides they labour under a double disadvantage—they have not the same financial backing, and they are French. The New Hebridean native as a rule mistrusts a Frenchman from his bitter experiences with the French planters, recruiters and Government. His feeling for a Frenchman can be divined from the fact that in speaking pidgin-English a native

practically never refers to a Frenchman as a white man. An Englishman is a white man, but a Frenchman is a "Frenchis-man" or a "Man a oui-oui." Moreover, the native is quick to recognize his friends and defenders. He knows quite well the Roman Catholic missionary never raises his voice against injustice. It is perhaps not altogether his fault that he does not. It is not so long ago that the Roman Catholic Church in France was disestablished and practically disendowed because the French Government resented the power of the Church in mundane matters. The average French Roman Catholic priest in France or French colonies has not forgotten this lesson, and feels that he is suspect and exists on tolerance. Beaten in France, he feels it a hopeless task to fight a Government which cares only for the immediate prosperity of its own national white settlers, and so he contents himself with striving in the spiritual field. So it is that he labours devotedly, but with small results.

V. THE MELANESIAN AND OTHER MISSIONS COMPARED

The Melanesian Mission in its educational work has two great advantages over the Presbyterian and other Protestant Missions labouring in the same quarter of the Pacific, those of centralization and education. Whereas every Presbyterian Missionary has been and still remains practically a law

to himself, subject only to the vague authority of the yearly Synod and to the distant and often ill-informed (that is ignorant) control of the committee that appointed him, so that he can teach and do what he likes, and as much or as little as he likes, the Melanesian Missionary is under the constant and watchful eye of his Bishop. The Melanesian Mission has a conscious policy which is laid down and modified from time to time as circumstances require. The Presbyterian Mission no doubt has a policy too, but it is less conscious and less controlled. Secondly, the class of man to be found in the Melanesian Mission is, speaking generally of the average, a better educated one. In the ranks of the Melanesian Mission we find not a few scholars, real scholars, men whose works stand in an authoritative position in the philological and ethnological world. Outstanding amongst these is Dr. Codrington, whose Mota Grammar is an extraordinary linguistic achievement, and whose "Melanesia and the Melanesians" has already been referred to. As has been pointed out above, the founders of the Melanesian Mission realized what the various other Protestant bodies have seldom grasped, that in order to do the best work among the unknown races of the Pacific it was essential to make a deep study into their customs and languages. Other Protestant bodies realized only the importance of the languages, and that fact seems to have been impressed upon them only by

the necessity of intercommunication. But language is not an end in itself, it is only a means to an end. The end is to get into close touch with the customs and manners of thought of these strange races. The customs must not only be observed, but they must be understood. Then only can just comparisons be made with corresponding European customs, and then only can the faith be born which will inspire the eloquence and persuasiveness needed to induce to a better way of life. And it is only by an intelligent understanding of native customs that it is possible to elucidate their actions to the understanding of other white men, and to educate the natives themselves in our manners and customs.

These two factors, centralization and intelligence, have been powerful in their beneficial effect on the Melanesian Mission's work. But there are other factors, too, which cannot justly be omitted though they are difficult to touch on without offence, though in an impartial statement of facts and an attempt to draw inferences from them, no desire to give offence should be suspected, or offence taken. The first of these is that, generally speaking, the average of men of the Melanesian Mission are men of a 'Varsity education with that polish which a 'Varsity education imparts. Many of their confrères in other Missions have, of course, had similar advantages with similar results. But some, on the other hand, have sprung from humbler classes, and lack polish.

No doubt in many respects as men they are fully equal to their Melanesian Mission brethren (in kindness, uprightness and the moral qualities), and it is no reproach or scoff to chronicle the fact that they have more often sprung from a more modest origin. Nay, rather the remembrance is an honour to them, for they have, therefore, by necessity had a harder material struggle to qualify themselves for their office. But it follows almost automatically that their education is more superficial, and that they lack the *savoir-faire* of the man of the world. The first defect often leads to a certain narrow-mindedness, and also to an inability to appreciate fully local problems or to state difficulties in adequate form when it is necessary to commit such difficulties to paper. And so, often, they blunder unwittingly all in good faith, and retard the cause to which they have consecrated their lives. No doubt, too, members of the Melanesian Mission sometimes make blunders—every one does that at times—but necessarily a higher education and polish tends to reduce the total of mistakes.

Now it is very necessary, in dealing with primitive races, that we should give them our best instructors, not our second best, and so get into touch with all classes of the native community. For the small native village is just a miniature of any other society or race. In it we find the aristocratic family, or individual, with all the

finer feelings or instincts which, primitive though they may be in the scale of civilization, are just as much entitled as the best of ourselves to the title of "gentlefolk." And at the other end of the scale we find the hooligan. And as one white, gentleman can recognize another—as it were by instinct—so, too, can a Kanaka gentleman recognize the class of his missionary. This is a fact that is seldom realized, but it is both true and important. Mere kindness and generosity, mere zealousness and godliness need to be supplemented by enclosing them in the best human medium; otherwise, though good, they fall short of the best.

I think it right that I should give one instance of the kind of blunder that may be committed by a well-meaning, but ignorant missionary. The following happened: A certain missionary, fairly new to the islands, of humble origin, the best of good fellows and full of zeal, found himself labouring side by side with a Melanesian Mission man. The two made acquaintance in amicable fashion and occasionally met when opportunity occurred. One day he heard that his Melanesian Mission colleague was at a village not far away from where he was himself, and he inquired from his native informant what he was doing there. The reply, in the native language, was intended to convey the fact that he was baptizing a sick man. Now the word for "sick" in many Melanesian and Polynesian languages is "mate." It is

one of those words which run through Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and even Indonesia. And it also means "dead." This missionary knew it meant "dead," but was ignorant of the fact that it also meant "sick." In fact "sick" is the primary meaning, and when "dead" is meant, in native usage it is usual to add an adverb indicative of completeness or finality. To cite the language of Mota for instance, the adverb "veta," "already," "past and over," would usually be added, though the addition of such an adverb is not essential, making "mate, veta," "sick, finish," i.e. "dead." The same distinction is made invariably in pidgin-English. There, when a man is described as being "dead" he is merely "sick." To be really "dead" he must be described as "dead—finish." All this is elementary, but in ignorance of it our hero jumped at the extraordinary conclusion that he had actually caught *in flagrante delicto*, a Melanesian missionary baptizing a dead man! So far we have merely the results of ignorance. His subsequent actions displayed a lack of taste and polish which are deplorable. Instead of verifying his facts and deductions, he sat down and wrote a screed to his committee narrating the supposed occurrence and making various scathing denunciations of the Melanesian Mission, missionaries and all their works. With an equal lack of taste and polish the committee proceeded to publish his letter in their Mission magazine. The only really

pleasing part of the story is that an apology was afterwards made.

Then too, and again this is not a cause of reproach, but a statement of fact which cannot be omitted (though it may, if not thoroughly understood, lead to unfair deductions), it is a fact that the circumstance that the Presbyterians draw a much higher salary than Melanesian missionaries, has materially benefited the latter Mission. It is a constant taunt levelled at the head of the Presbyterians that they have soft billets. In fact they draw £240 per annum and have good houses provided free, and sundry other advantages, such as frequent holidays with fares paid, rebates on freight, and allowances for children. The Melanesian missionary, on the other hand, only gets a salary varying from £5 to £10 a month, he frequently has to live in native grass houses, and he has to provide his own travelling expenses if he wishes to go away for a change elsewhere than to Norfolk Island or New Zealand, or otherwise than by the *Southern Cross*. Lay critics argue speciously that the latter scale of remuneration, which implies real privations often at the expense of health, indicates real zeal and missionary enthusiasm, while the former merely provides an easy way of leading a comfortable life which the Presbyterian missionary's talents and education would not secure to him in any other way. Probably many of such critics would disclaim an assertion that to be a *real*

missionary a man should be half starved. And yet that would seem to be the logical premise of syllogisms which would then run :

To be a *real* missionary a man must be half starved.

The Melanesian missionaries *are* half starved.

Therefore, the Melanesian missionaries are *real* missionaries. And again :

To be a *real* missionary a man must be half starved.

The Presbyterian missionaries are grossly overfed.

Therefore, they are very far from being *real* missionaries.

There is no doubt that the small salaries of the Melanesian missionaries are indicative of zeal, but the converse proposition that the larger salaries of the Presbyterian missionaries quench all zeal does not necessarily follow. It may follow. There may be a greater danger of it following ; but it does not necessarily follow.

Personally I am of opinion that missionaries, Government officials, or others working in these unhealthy and out-of-the-way parts of the earth, deserve to receive some of the amenities of life. A bare subsistence is not enough—always provided that their work is really of value to the islands and the people of them. If it is not useful in the highest sense (and the highest sense may, of course, and necessarily must, take many forms) they should not be there at all.

VI. THE FUTURE OF MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC

Mission work must always remain independent of Government work, that may at once be conceded. But we have seen that it would often be better for both parties if they were to gain clearer ideas of what they are really aiming at, and if they were to try more than they do to work in harmony and sympathy with one another. And equally important is it that the various Missions should try and work hand in hand with each other. Much and good work as has been done in the past, better and more could have been done had action been concerted instead of separate. And I feel sure that if mission endeavour is to make the progress it should, it is only by recognizing the essential unity of the Christian Church that it can be done. It is a very great drawback having a number of different sects working in the same or adjoining fields. Sometimes this leads to clashing, at other times to portions of the field being omitted. And, in any case, it confuses the native's mind at a stage in his development when it is particularly important that only clear and concise ideas should be offered it. Many people regret the great number of different sects into which the Christian Church has split at home, and many look forward to the day when they will find it possible to reunite. And, surely, if such reunion can be

achieved it would be easier to achieve it in the mission field than anywhere else.

Oncemore let us look at the question frankly and without subterfuge. ' Protestantism emerged from the Church of Rome as a protest against certain ideas which had sprung up in the course of centuries, and for which but slender foundation could be found in the Holy Writings we possess. Then Protestantism itself split up into many small sects, each differing from others in its interpretation of Holy Writ. But these subdivisions—or at least the most important ones—took place some three hundred years ago. And since that time men's ideas have changed very considerably. So that now it is very difficult to find out what the professors of different sects really do believe. One can only refer in the last resort to the creeds of these different Churches. Now, in my experience (and I have inquired very often) I have never yet met a minister of any religion who could tell me that he accepted unreservedly the official creed of his Church. I do not believe there is a single clergyman of the Church of England who accepts literally the thirty-nine articles of that Church without mental reservations. And, to cite another example, I do not believe there is a single Presbyterian minister who accepts literally the creed of Calvin as set forth in the shorter and longer Catechisms. Nor is it astonishing they should not, because often we find in them statements which are unbelievable nowadays.

The trouble is that the Churches have not moved with the times. So fearful are they of the effect on the public mind of any change in the text and nature of the old statements of belief, that they retain them unchanged although their beliefs have changed. This is in reality an untenable position, and leaves those who practise it in the unpleasant position of being charged with hypocrisy. To go further, let us consider the ritual used by, say, the Church of England. It is written in the language of three centuries ago, which has greatly changed its meaning since those days. Moreover, our Sacred Books are Oriental compositions which were written by men of another age and country who had a very different outlook on life to ours, and who had not often at that time reached the same precision of expression which we have attained to. Hence it is we find in the Bible very beautiful passages mixed up seemingly at haphazard with other passages which really mean nothing. This is a phenomenon which may be seen in all religions. Take, for instance, the Koran. We may read that work and willingly recognize beautiful passages in it, but there is much in it which has, to our modern ears, lost all meaning. But priesthood has, for obvious motives, tried always to retain the old words, and has always done so till they degenerate into mere symbolism. In the last stage the original meaning is treasured by the priestly caste and hidden from the common

people. So great is the power and desire to hold on to old things and modes of expression now obsolete, that we do not care even to change our hymns, though these have by no means the authority of the prayers, still less of the Bible itself. And so we are content with hymns which are often written in the poorest metre and rhyme, and which have often little real meaning. It was in recognition partly of this that the Revised Edition of the Bible was undertaken. But that did not go nearly far enough. A better note was struck by Dr. Moffatt in his translation of the New Testament into modern English. In truth, it is this unreasoning adherence to old things, simply because their antiquity seems to give them a certain sanctity of character, which in reality does not exist, that the Churches have lost their grip on the mass of mankind. We are too educated nowadays to be content with repeating obsolete formulas which have lost their use since the generation they were written for. And if this be true of us in England, it is, if possible, truer in regard to the Kanaka. If we are to reach him and turn him into an intelligent and believing Christian, we must discard the old formulas and bring ourselves up to date. We have no right to make him heir to our quarrels of doctrine which originated with us hundreds of years ago, and in which we do not even believe ourselves. It would be perfectly possible, and it should be done, to frame a simple version of

the Christian religion which should be acceptable to all Christian workers amongst the Kanakas. It has already been done in Africa to some extent ; but the process wants to be carried on. Immense harm was done in Tonga by the unseemly squabbles between the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics, and in the bosom of the Wesleyan Church itself, as is recounted so graphically by Mr. Basil Thomson. If the Christian religion is to flourish in the South Seas, the less we hear in future of the names of the different Churches, the better. We should try to teach them Christianity, not different brands of Christianity. And if the task were to be undertaken without allowing jealousies to intervene, it could easily be accomplished. I know many missionaries of different Churches, and I say, without hesitation, that in all essentials they believe exactly the same things. What has to be guarded against is the confusion between essentials and unessentials. We must not mistake the shadow for the substance, and in striving to grasp the one lose the other. These are plain words, and I fear they may shock some of my readers. But they are written with all reverence, and with a very keen sense of their importance. After all, what we are all professedly aiming for is the good of the Kanaka, and if, as we have seen, the work of the past leaves room for improvement, it is our duty to see where we have been at fault, and try and devise a better way for the future.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUTURE OF THE KANAKA

I. SIMILARITY OF THE PAST POLICY IN THE PACIFIC WITH THAT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

WE have remarked previously that though as a nation we have a genuine desire to do our duty by native races, yet the effectiveness of that desire is often diminished by the vagueness of our conceptions as to what our duties to them really are, and also by our tendency to opportunism and compromise. The average Englishman in reality knows very little about the colonies which compose his Empire. He feels pride chiefly in the knowledge that he has an Empire, and he imagines that every little spot where the British flag waves is run on the same principles of justice as obtain at home. Knowing the skill and incorruptibility of our officers and judges in England, he imagines that English officials in far countries behave in exactly the same way as they would do at home. He has been brought up on maxims which assert that "where the British flag waves there is justice and freedom for all alike," and as these maxims appeal to his best nature, he is content to take them on trust.

Should he hear of facts which, by any chance, do not coincide with his maxims, he often dismisses them by the reflection that he cannot be expected to understand the local problems of a distant land of which he has no personal knowledge, and that anyhow the local officials who are decent Englishmen are there as his deputies and know best. "Trust the man on the spot." He reflects further that in the case of the self-governing colonies his responsibility is certainly ended, that indeed he could not interfere even if he would. While as to the smaller dependencies where there is a coloured population, no doubt severity is sometimes necessary to establish and maintain peace and the safety of the whites, but that the Colonial Office can be trusted to see that every one has fair treatment. He remembers in this connexion incidents like the Indian mutiny, where a coloured population, ungrateful for the advantages of British rule, rose against their benefactors, and feels that such things must not be allowed to occur again elsewhere. In fact, his attitude is based chiefly on ignorance of facts and trust in the natural good-feeling and equity of his race. And this attitude of the average Englishman is similar to that of the citizens of our larger self-governing colonies to their smaller dependencies, and to that of other countries towards their colonies.

But we have now seen that this is a wrong attitude to take up. We cannot so easily divorce

ourselves from responsibility. There is a moral obligation on every one of us to study these questions and to seek solutions founded on justice and equity and not on opportunism. It will perhaps help us to take a wider view of our duties if we glance briefly at some other problems in other parts of the world, both in our own colonies and in those of other countries. And we may thereby see how often our abstract theories have failed to materialize, and how often they have become so distorted and twisted as to become no longer recognizable. This exercise may help us to draw conclusions as to our future management of the Kanaka race.

In Europe itself we have never been face to face with the problem of living side by side with a coloured population, because, as has already been pointed out, black and brown races cannot emigrate out of their own climatic zone, and the Chinese and allied stocks have from temperamental reasons not yet sought to spread out of their own countries as far as Europe. But in our colonies in Australia and Canada, and in the United States of America, this is the burning problem. Let us consider exactly what that problem is.

There is—and it is a thing we have to recognize—a deep-seated antagonism between white and coloured races. Why should the white race have this antagonism? On what is it founded? Partly, we may say, on difference in colour; partly in the

belief that the white race is superior to and higher than coloured races; partly owing to the fact that coloured races can live more cheaply than white ones, and can therefore undercut them in the labour market, lower the rate of wages and the standard of living; and partly because the white race fears a mixture of blood. Point has been given to these considerations by the problem which faces the United States with its African negro population of some 13 millions out of its total population of 100 millions. Other countries have observed the symptoms of racial antagonism which exist there, and are determined if possible that they shall not put themselves in a similar position. To cite but one thing which shocks the European mind, and which appears to be the outcome of this racial problem—lynch law. To our ideas lynch law is mere anarchy, a subversion of all order in a State. Here is an American explanation of it. The negro is obsessed with the idea of intermarriage with the white race. It is forbidden by law, so the negro, to satisfy his obsession, will use force if he gets the chance, and dispense with the marriage ceremony. It is useless to enact laws against this. The negro cares nothing for imprisonment or even the ordinary death penalty. There is only one thing he fears, and that is being burned alive. It is admitted that the system is sometimes wrongly made use of to avenge other wrongs, but in spite of occasional miscarriages of

justice, it is asserted that that is the only way to keep the negro population in control. Without discussing the rightness or wrongness of this view, we realize that it is to prevent the possible necessity of having to make such a choice that Australia and Canada have determined that they will not admit coloured races within their borders more than they can possibly help. They are prepared to put up with all kinds of practical inconveniences, such as shortage of domestic service, so as to prevent this possibility. We find, therefore, that the conception of a white Australia, that is a country where all the inhabitants shall be Europeans, without the complication of living side by side with a black race as the Americans do in the States, or even with a yellow race, is one of the most cherished determinations of all Australians. It is an ideal which instinctively appeals to one. But it must be observed that this aim, excellent though it is in theory (its feasibility is another matter which we shall come to presently), is sometimes spoiled by unreasonable extensions of a minority. Many labouring men in Australia, for instance, view even white immigrants with disfavour as introducing new competitors in a restricted and therefore satisfactory labour market. This is, no doubt, a very shortsighted view, and probably it is not shared by those leaders of the Labour party in Australia who are more enlightened, but it is certainly held by many of the

rank and file who are in a position, through their votes, to make their influence felt.

Australia fears both black labour and yellow labour. Canada fears only yellow labour. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Canada is wholly within the cold zones, and has no aboriginal black population, while Australia has large portions of purely tropical country, and has not only an aboriginal black population of its own, but the possibility of receiving immigrants from the neighbouring Pacific groups. If we consider the reasons which influence the Canadians in objecting to Chinese immigration, we shall see at the same time what Australian objections are to the yellow races.

There is a perpetual agitation going on in Canada for the exclusion of Chinese labour. It is based on the fact that the Chinaman can undercut the European. He lives cheaper and works for less. Also he will do work which no European will undertake. Indeed, it may be said generally that without Chinese labour many of the greatest works accomplished in Canada would never have been completed. A notable instance of this is the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The reason for the cheapness of Chinese labour is not generally understood. As a matter of fact it is simply slave labour. In China, if a man gets into debt, he can have himself sold at public auction (together with his wife and children), and then is in the position of having to work for

his purchaser until he has paid off his debt, when he reacquires liberty. Such *de facto* slaves are shipped to Canada (or elsewhere), and in order to earn money, deliberately undercut the white man. Most of their earnings go to their owner, who may live either in China or Canada. The balance they live on and save. If they can save enough they purchase their liberty and promptly return to China. No Chinaman wishes to settle permanently outside China, or to mix with other races. He goes to Canada only for a specific purpose, viz. to save sufficient money to liberate himself and then return home. So deep is this desire to return that when a Chinaman dies and is buried in Canada, his bones are usually dug up some time after and shipped back to China for burial there.

One of the schemes by which endeavours have been made to deter Chinamen from coming to Canada and competing there with white labour, has been the imposition of a head tax on entry, first of 25 dollars and now of £100 each. This, however, neither deters nor even offends the Chinaman, as he considers that he gets it back from the white man by slightly increasing the wage at which he consents to hire himself out. There is a wide margin between the rates of remuneration which a Chinaman and an Englishman will consent to accept which allows of this. It must be remembered in this connexion that work in Canada for white men exists chiefly in

the summer months. In the winter all work must be indoors. Consequently many men are then unemployed, and are forced to spend the high wages they have earned during the summer months in living idle in hotels. The hotels do a great traffic during the winter. The Chinaman, on the other hand—who always lives apart in the Chinatown quarter of every large city—goes to bed during the winter and lives off rice—and opium when he can get it.

Certain companies or employers have an ingenious system of playing off Chinese labour against white labour. The latter is attracted from England by the lure of higher wages than are current at home. Nothing is said of the greater cost of living which, combined with the enforced idleness of the winter months, neutralizes this advantage. Immigrants are usually and purposely induced to take up land in conjunction with their other paid occupations, and if at any time they happen to cease to draw wages for any reason (and the reason not infrequently and purposely occurs), they speedily get into difficulties with their land speculations, and find themselves unable to pay the taxes or instalments, and are eventually sold up, and lose the value of any improvements, such as buildings, that they have put on the land. Such experiences are not uncommon. Being thus reduced to destitution they are forced to accept a lower wage, and not unnaturally attribute

their misfortunes to the Chinaman whose labour is always available and at a lower figure. But in reality it is not the Chinaman who is to blame. He does not seek for the higher forms of employment, but is quite content with the more menial work which an Englishman would refuse to do. But he has his opportunity (unasked for and even undesired though it be) when the white employee falls out with his white employer. It is really the fault of the white employer who deliberately brings about such a situation in order to play off the white labourer and the Chinaman one against the other.

It is a common reproach against the Chinaman that he takes money out of the country, and therefore is no asset to it. The same critics complain against the low rate of wages he is content to accept. The two complaints are mutually contradictory. Nor must it be forgotten that even if it is true, and as is pointed out above, it is true, that the Chinaman does send his small wages out of the country and seizes the first opportunity of following them himself; he does leave something behind, and that is the result of his labour. And it must be repeated that all the hardest labour in the country done in the past has been done by Chinamen.

It is true that there are trade unions whose function it is to look after the interests of the white employee. And it is also true that labour has made a

somewhat belated and feeble appearance in the Dominion Legislatures. But in spite of unions, and in spite of Members of Parliament, the old game of playing off one party against another still goes on. Strikes are frequent, indeed almost continual, and concessions are wrung from the reluctant employers by their recalcitrant white employees. But every advance in wages has to be paid for, either by loss of time, increase in cost of living, rise in rent or taxes, or by the temporary introduction of Chinese into the industry. The community loses by the temporary idleness of some of its members ; the members themselves remain in much the same position as when they started, or if they advance their advance is imperceptible.

Who, then, are these companies or employers that on the one hand exploit Chinese " slaves " and on the other induce white men to emigrate from home in order to reduce them, too, to a kind of slavery ? They are companies whose shareholders are for the most part resident in England, and to a lesser degree in the United States of America. Unwrapped from circumlocutions of modern phraseology, stripped to its very nature, there can be no doubt that we have here an instance of slavery pure and simple. And it is slavery carried on under the British flag in the twentieth century.

It must be added that the Chinaman himself finds no fault with the system. It is what he is accustomed to. It coincides with his nature and

the habits of his country. He is a slave, but he has always before him the hope of freedom. So it is useless to waste a sympathy over him that he does not want and would not understand. But it does inspire in us the reflection that his acquiescence and satisfaction are based on ignorance, ignorance that can only be removed by education. And that education has already begun by the very fact of the forcing of ourselves on to the Chinese in China for trade purposes. And it is a process which cannot now be arrested. The Chinaman will not always be content with a system which places him on a lower level to the white race. It is quite obvious, however, that the Chinaman would very much resent being totally excluded from Canada and Australia, and if this be true of the unprogressive Chinaman, it is very much truer of the progressive Japanese. The Japanese are far from content with a system such as that above described. And if foreign nations, Orientals like Chinese and Japanese, are becoming, or actually are offended by such a system which prevents their entering our countries save under very restricted and unfavourable conditions, how much more must our own coloured fellow-citizens, like the Indians, resent it ?

In the repatriation of the Kanakas from Queensland there were no ulterior and future consequences to be considered. It did not matter, nor is it ever likely to matter to Australia, whether the Kanakas resented their deportation

or not. But the same cannot be said of the yellow races. Races like the Chinese numbering over 400 millions, and the Japanese over 70 millions, cannot be so summarily dismissed. Japan says nothing at the present time, as she is still finding her feet as a Nation, besides being an ally of England. But we must not forget that she is finding her feet very rapidly. In the present war, while England and her colonies are being impoverished both of men and money, Japan is steadily growing richer and stronger. China, though of so much greater potential power, is hardly yet awakened, though we have started her education and Japan is continuing the process.

Let us envisage the obverse of the problem for a moment. What should we say, think, or do, if China or Japan suddenly announced a Yellow China or Japan policy, and proceeded to deport all white men, or to admit only such white men as could pass an examination in Chinese or Japanese, and who would consent to pay a head tax of £100 per man? The idea is startling enough. But it must be remembered that the white races have gone further than this in their dealings with these two races, far further. It must not be forgotten by us (for it is certainly not forgotten by them) that Japan was originally a country closed to foreigners, and that it was only opened to white men by America at the point of the sword. It must not be forgotten that we insisted

(all European nations insisted) on their citizens being allowed to reside in Japan, to trade there, and yet to be withdrawn by the system of capitulations from the ordinary law of the land. These capitulations were abolished in 1899, but only when Japan was strong enough to be able to insist on their abolition. They are still in force in China, because China is as yet too weak to object successfully. By these capitulations a citizen of a Western Power, if he committed some crime against a native of the country, could be judged and punished, not by the local magistrate, but only by his own consular officers. The abuses such a system could and did lead to are too obvious to need exposition in detail. And again, it must not be forgotten that we forced China to continue to consume opium merely to save our own interests in opium production in India, and without regard to the curse that it has been and still is in China. Again, let us envisage the converse of these propositions. Suppose that, grown to a fuller stature and strength, China and Japan, or one of them, insisted on our receiving Chinese and Japanese at the point of the sword, while imposing disabilities on our immigrants to their country. Suppose they refused to recognize the authority of our law courts in any dispute between an Oriental and one of ourselves, and insisted that if a Chinaman or a Japanese had to be judged and punished at the plaint of a white man it

must be in a Chinese or Japanese consular court. Suppose—and the idea seems ludicrous—that in order to foster the distilleries of the Far East, China and Japan could insist on free importation of their whisky into our countries—what should we think of such propositions? We should say that they were mad, lunatic, and wicked. And so they would be. And so, if we are honest, are our actions too. This is a hard saying, maybe, but by all rules of fairness and justice, it is true. If the yellow races are as good as the white—and who shall say that though different they are not?—then they deserve fair treatment. If they are inferior, still more do they merit fair treatment. “Fair treatment—yes—” an objector might interpose, “but not necessarily equal treatment.” It is true there is a distinction, and the distinction merits consideration. If we regard the coloured races as primitive folk, who stand in a similar relation to white races as a child does to a man, and, except in the case of Japan, this seems to be a fair parallel, then it is true that there is nothing unfair in refusing equal treatment as long as they shall continue to be children. But once they have, as it were, grown up, then the distinction ceases. And when we admit this distinction, we must be careful to define exactly what equality of treatment should mean. It should mean the same sympathetic and educatory attitude which a father accords to his son. It should not mean, as it so often does in practice, the taking advan-

tage of the weak by the strong. We must remember that Japan has now "grown up," and that other coloured peoples may do the same.

The transformation of Japan in the past fifty years from a primitive race to a modern one is one of the marvels of the ages. This is often admitted, but its whole significance is not always realized. It means that one primitive race, which was being exploited in the usual way by the Western world, consciously set itself to consider its own position. It realized that if it did not educate itself up to our standard, its destiny would be one of servitude, and possibly of annihilation. This act of self-realization was a great feat, for it was a spontaneous act, and Japan is the only nation of which we have a record that has been capable of it. All other coloured races have gone under, or like the Kanaka are going under. But Japan owes us small thanks for the feat she has achieved. No doubt we have helped her to a certain extent when it did not interfere with our own immediate interests. But had it been realized in Europe fifty years ago that Japan had the latent capacity of developing herself into a first-class Power, there can be little doubt, judging by our conduct in other parts of the world, that Europe as a whole would have endeavoured to frustrate the design. Fortunately our own pre-occupation with our own affairs has given sufficient breathing-space for one nation to save itself.

It is not hard to apply these considerations to the ideal of a white Australia. I do not wish to insist on mere opportunist arguments, that we must treat others fairly if we wish to be treated fairly ourselves. We have had so far the upper hand, and have not always used our powers with justice. The dullest will see that it will be to our advantage to reform our methods, and so avert a day of reckoning to ourselves or our progeny. I prefer to insist rather on arguments which are based on the principles of right and wrong. The Great War is making these principles clearer to us. And so in the consideration of the feasibility of a white Australia, we must consider that it is not possible for a race numbering only five millions to inhabit a large continent capable of supporting, perhaps, a hundred millions, and to keep out coloured races indefinitely, unless they can people it either by persuading great numbers of white immigrants to come in, or unless the birth-rate increases to such an extent that immigration can be dispensed with. Now both these things are being rendered more difficult every day by the war. There will be fewer men for immigration at the end of it, and in the meantime the absence of hundreds of thousands of males from the countries of Australia and Canada on active service, so many of whom, alas, are never to return, will inevitably lower the birth-rate and increase the death-rate. And we have to remember, too, that in any case there are large

tracts of Australia which, from their tropical nature, are unsuitable, and always will be unsuitable for whites. Further, I can find no real support for the argument based on the fear of the mixture of yellow and white races, or white and black. That the fear exists is undeniable, but all previous experience seems to show that the fear is an unfounded one. Nations of different stocks have lived for thousands of years in the larger continents of Asia and Europe and remained separate. And though frequent wars have occurred between them by one nation trying to enlarge its boundaries at the expense of its neighbour, wars occur equally between nations living in different continents separated by the sea. It, therefore, seems to me that the ideal of a white Australia, or of a white Canada, is an impracticable one, for it runs counter to the laws of Nature and justice. And if this be so, it would be better for us to realize it at once. For persistence in an unpracticable ideal can only lead to one thing, and that is new wars. Surely, the true solution of the problem is to realize that every nation has its appointed place in the world's cosmogony, to try and find out what that place is, and for the stronger and more advanced races to help their weaker and less advanced neighbours to develop, so that they will in time learn to occupy their proper places and fulfil their proper functions by themselves. So we should change competition, which at present is usually

devoted to merely selfish ends, to a better competition whose object would be the advancement, material, mental, and moral, of the whole human race.

The great fault in the way the world has been run in the past is that, while we have had excellent maxims and professed admirable ideals, we have interpreted these maxims and ideals through the medium of our own selfishness. Let us consider another example of a similar nature. We have built up in Europe, over a long space of time, the science of what is known as International Law. We have recognized and formulated a number of propositions which seem indisputable. For instance, we have laid down the principles of different nationalities, each Power, be it big or small, strong or weak, being recognized as a separate and equal entity. And we have asserted that each Power has complete jurisdiction within its own limits, and that it has nothing whatever to do with the internal *régime* of its neighbours. Now fair as all this seems at first sight, it is not completely either fair or true. And instances are continually cropping up where one nation has an interest in the internal affairs of its neighbours. Instead of recognizing this frankly we have maintained our maxims inviolate as a theory, and have brought constant derogations to them in the way of practice. The system of capitulations applied to China, Japan, and Turkey, is but one instance. The system of pacific blockades is

another. But if we examine the history of our interferences with the internal affairs of other nations, we are forced to the conclusion that in the vast majority of cases we interfere only in our own interests, and not to support the interests of humanity at large. We did not interfere when Germany annexed Schleswig-Holstein in 1862, though we were ourselves signatories to the treaty guaranteeing its independence. But we did interfere when Germany invaded Belgium in 1914, because we could not afford to see Germany hold the Channel seaboard. On the other hand, we did nothing to interfere with Belgium's atrocities in the Congo, though we knew perfectly well what was going on, because we did not want to fall out with other European nations. Nor did we interfere in Peru for the same reason. And we have permitted the New Hebrides to languish under the Condominium, because we preferred to sacrifice the Kanaka rather than fall out with France over a trifle. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. In brief, our proceedings have been based on expediency, though we are always careful to twist them in such a way as to try and bring them under one of our general maxims of equity if we can. Indeed, we often have two sets of maxims, one to cover one case and one its opposite. For instance, we interfere in the State of Greece because King Constantine has so acted as to overrule the will of the people, and we, though we do not want Greece to join

us in the war against Germany, do want her people to be able to make a free choice. So we interfere justifiably. On the other hand we could do nothing to stop slavery in Portuguese West Africa, because it was not worth while creating trouble in Europe merely for the sake of a number of African savages.

What I may term the pre-war view of British statesmanship is admirably illustrated by the late Lord Cromer in his introduction to Mr. Harris's book, "Dawn in Darkest Africa" (p. xix):

"The remedy which he (Mr. Harris) suggests, is that Germany should take over the greater part of the Belgian and a portion of the French Congo, and (p. 302) should concede 'an adequate *quid pro quo*' to France. I will not attempt to discuss fully this suggestion which, to the diplomatic mind, is somewhat startling. I will only say that I very greatly doubt the feasibility of arranging any such 'adequate *quid pro quo*' for France as Mr. Harris seems to contemplate. The British attitude in connexion with any transfer of the Congo State from its present rulers to Germany appears to me, however, to be abundantly clear. If any amicable arrangement could be made by which Germany should enter into the possession of the Congo, we may regard it, from the point of view of British interests, without the least shadow of disfavour or jealousy, but—and this point appears to me to be essential—it must be of such a nature as will not in any

degree impair the very friendly relations which now fortunately exist between our own country and France. *The well-being of the Congo State, however deserving of consideration, must be rated second in importance to the steadfast maintenance of an arrangement fraught with the utmost benefit not merely to France and England, but to the world in general.*"

The italics are my own. It is always unpleasant to paraphrase—but what this really means is this. We are to go on consenting to a palpable wrong in order to preserve the friendship of France. But friendships—real friendships—cannot be founded on injustice and wrong. Cicero said this nearly two thousand years ago: "Let us lay it down as an indispensable law of Friendship, that we never require our friends to do anything that is wicked, or obey them, if they require us. For it is a shameful and insufficient plea for a man to urge, when he has been guilty of an offence, either public or private, that he committed it on account of his Friend." And he illustrated his dictum with an anecdote: "When Tiberius Gracchus began his factious practices against the State . . . Caius Blossius of Cuma . . . came and begged my pardon, in the most earnest terms, because he had such an opinion of Gracchus, that he thought it his duty to obey him in whatever he should enjoin. 'Suppose,' said I, 'he should enjoin you to set fire to the Capitol?' 'Why, that,' replied Blossius, 'can

never come into his head.' 'But,' continued I, 'suppose it had?' 'Then,' said Blossius, 'I would have obeyed him!'" "What an improper expression was this!" is Cicero's comment.

We can now see that such a maxim as the one we have quoted, laid down by International Law, that each Power has complete jurisdiction within its own territorial limits, and that it has nothing whatever to do with the internal *régime* of its neighbours, is not in accord with the fundamental principles of justice and Nature which must ultimately govern the world. We *have* sometimes a right and sometimes a duty to intervene in other nations' internal affairs. Text-book writers have realized this by recognizing derogations, some of which we have already quoted, and we, by our practice, show ourselves willing to extend or curtail the list of derogations whenever it suits our immediate purpose. This is not only unsatisfactory in itself, but it leads to unsatisfactory results. It is far better to try and revise the original maxim so as to make it conform with the highest principles of right and wrong, and so leave ourselves no loophole for evasion or subterfuge. International relations are, in reality, nothing more than an extension of the principles regulating the relations of individuals. And they are both regulated by the fundamental maxim *sic utere tuo, ut alienum non lædas*. If we consider the relations of individuals we shall see more clearly. A man has no right

to interfere with his neighbour so long as his neighbour conducts himself properly. But if he should discover him committing a crime against some third party, he *must*, it is his duty by law, interfere. All smaller considerations are then swept away. The right of personal liberty, inviolability of domicile, and so forth, disappear, and the individual is bound to use force and effect an arrest. The reason for this is the higher law of humanity. The delinquent is doing some act which not only affects one or two individuals prejudicially, but the whole of humanity. Therefore, the whole of humanity has an interest in seeing that the wrongdoing should be stopped and the wrongdoer punished. It is no excuse to allege that the individual should not interfere because he is not strong enough, or because he does not want to transgress the obligations of private friendship, or to breed ill-blood with, or offend, his wrongdoing neighbour by interfering with him. This principle, which we have incorporated in our laws, admits of no exception. And it is this principle which should be followed in international relations. We cannot, of course, be perpetually investigating and spying on our neighbours (be they individuals or nations) to check their actions. But where there is visible and notorious wrong being committed, it is our duty to interfere. And we should judge of such wrongs in exactly the same way as we judge of wrongs committed by our individual neighbours,

not from a selfish point of view or with any regard to immediate profit, but from the sole aspect of the ultimate good of the human race. If it be asked how this interference is to be enforced, there can be only one answer. In the same way as the individual is controlled by the State, so, too, must the State be controlled by the union of States, that is by a league of nations. That is the point to which the Great War is bringing us. It is a natural process. It is Nature taking her revenge for abuse, and providing her own remedy.

So we see that in other parts of the world outside the Pacific Islands there are cognate problems which can only be solved by a conscious application of the same first principles which we have deduced, and which must be resorted to in order to solve those of the Pacific Islands. Indeed, we may express the same truth, in an inverse way, by saying that these problems would never have arisen at all if the world had been conducted on the right principles. It is because it has not that these problems have arisen. If we now revert to the right principles the problems will disappear. We have seen the evil results which inevitably ensue from a policy of selfishness and opportunism, and we begin to see that the Great War is the result of outraged Nature, which is now bringing an irresistible pressure on us, whether we will or no, to make our policy in running the world conform to those abstract principles of

justice. And surely it is clear that it is the better course to adopt those principles frankly, boldly, and spontaneously, rather than be forced to do so by outside pressure. We must do so in any case, and if we try to avoid doing so, we shall merely be repeating man's old mistakes and ensuring a repetition in the future of Nature's punishments.

II. THE FUTURE OF THE KANAKA

We must now begin to draw the threads of our long inquiry together and hasten to our conclusion. Everything which we have written, all the general principles which we have enunciated as being the highest conceptions of our higher nature, all the facts we have glanced at and which we have selected as illustrating the general condition of present-day affairs and typical of them all, and all the deductions which we have attempted to draw from those facts, in the light of our general principles of equity and justice, all point to one unescapable conclusion. And that is, that it is both our duty and our interest to try and set the Kanaka race on a firm footing, so that it may develop and eventually take its place amongst the other nations of the world. Only, be it remembered, we must make haste, for if we do not act promptly and decisively it will soon be too late. The idea that it is possible to develop a real nation of the Kanakas will not be very

surprising to people at home who do not know the type we have to deal with. Those acquainted with the Pacific Islands, or at least many of them, will, no doubt, scoff at it. But that will be merely because they are unaccustomed to use their minds save within the narrow limits of a groove. And such persons, though they may convince themselves, should never be able to convince us who are trying to view things from a far wider standpoint. Nor would it be possible to place confidence in the pessimistic views of people who have been agents of the old *régime*, and who have themselves helped to contribute to the existing failure of affairs. We must remember that they cannot admit that the existing state of affairs is a failure, for such an admission would be tantamount to a condemning of themselves.

We have seen that though there is much wrong, there are gleams of hope here and there, and that by assiduous and rightly directed education and care that hope may be strengthened. And I, for one, believe that it is quite possible to preserve the Kanaka race, and so to develop it, that one day the Pacific may be filled with an intelligent, hard-working and decent brown population. But in order to effect this we must get rid, once for all, of any idea of making these islands white men's islands. We must see that the natives have plenty of land on which to live and spread, that village life is not killed by indiscriminate and

over-recruiting, that disease is checked, that natives are educated in the use of the gifts of the white man, and that their old inchoate heathen ideas and ideals are replaced by a simple and elevated conception of the duties of Man on the earth. We must draw the various islands together by the creation of common modes of intercourse and common interests, and teach the natives that they are a race which has a future, and so restore a good heart in them.

III. DIVISION OF THE PACIFIC AFTER THE WAR

If we have this ideal and purpose firmly implanted in our hearts the question of the immediate fate of the Pacific Islands, in the arrangements which must take place in them after the war, will become much simpler. We see that the important point we have to look at is not (as so far we have done to the exclusion of almost everything else) the acquisition of these Groups so as to make new spheres for white men to live in. Our interests in this regard are very small. We have a stronger temporary interest in seeing that these Groups, which lie near the coasts of the Great Powers, should not come under the influence of other Great Powers, though even this interest will gradually disappear as the Kanaka develops and becomes capable of running his own islands without our tutelage, and as we all come to recognize that the first duty of every

nation is to develop its own lands and not to attempt to secure speedier profits by plundering its neighbours. But our real interest lies in teaching the Kanaka to develop himself so that his race may be of use to humanity later on. The three great nations which have the most immediate interest in this are, of course, the English as represented by Australia and New Zealand, the Japanese, and the United States. All these three border on and bound the Pacific on the west, south, north, and east. Other nations, like Germany and France, have much remoter interests, which are certainly not comparable with those of the three first named. It is obvious, therefore, that after the war, and for as long as the intermediate stage lasts while the Kanaka is finding his feet, the proper division of the Pacific in the interests of the world at large and of the Kanaka, is to create spheres of influence of those three nations over the Groups that are nearest to them. Under that arrangement the South-Western Pacific (south of the Equator) would naturally fall to Australia and New Zealand, the Northern Pacific to Japan, and the Eastern Pacific to the United States. There is no need to discuss here the internal management of these various islands and Groups in all their detail. That is, of course, a very important matter, but it rests entirely on the general principles we have set forth. And any attempt to devise a scheme of details must necessarily be only a patchwork

affair till those general principles are established and accepted. The first thing to do, and that is the whole object of this book, is to visualize the fundamental proposition of "the Pacific Islands for the Kanaka." Until and unless we can get that idea firmly into our heads and incorporated in our policy, we shall never make anything of those beautiful islands which are one of the gifts which God has given to man.

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